"Between Transit and Home: Urban Migration Policies in Zagreb and Rijeka"

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Abstract

This thesis presents a comparative analysis of migration governance in two Croatian cities, Zagreb and Rijeka, which hold unique positions within the Balkan migration route. By employing a comprehensive approach that intertwines theoretical frameworks with empirical research, this study illuminates how each city, in its distinct role as either a destination or a transit point for migrants, adapts its strategies.

In Zagreb, a city often serving as a destination for migrants, the focus is long-term integration strategies. This research highlights how the city employs various initiatives, including language training, legal aid, and social integration programs, to facilitate the inclusion of migrants into the urban fabric, thereby enhancing both their welfare and contribution to the local economy.

Conversely, Rijeka's role as a transit hub presents pressing challenges that necessitate immediate humanitarian responses rather than durable integration measures. The study examines how Rijeka's transient migrant population, a key factor in these challenges, impacts the city's ability to implement long-standing social and economic inclusion strategies.

Through a mixed-methods approach that includes interviews with key stakeholders and analysis of policy documents, this thesis assesses the effectiveness of each city's strategies and their compliance with broader national and European Union migration frameworks. The findings indicate that while both cities strive to enhance their capacities as hospitable environments for migrants, the scope and success of their efforts vary significantly due to differences in urban scale, resources, and geopolitical positioning.

This work contributes to migration studies by offering valuable insights into the complexities of urban migration management. However, the study also underscores the need for further research incorporating migrant voices, a crucial step towards deeply understanding the efficacy of integration and transit strategies from the perspectives of those most affected.

Keywords: Urban migration, Zagreb, Rijeka, integration strategies, transit migration, local governance, migration policy, Balkan route.

The contemporary world, characterized by substantial migration flows and the pressing need for inclusive urban policies, has thrust cities into the spotlight as potential havens of sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality. (Chakraborty and Maity 2020) Transcending their role as mere passive settings for migration, cities become active fields where policies and practices concerning migrant inclusion and exclusion are not only articulated but also contested and implemented. This holds particular relevance in the European context, where urban areas frequently serve as the first point of contact for receiving, accommodating, and integrating migrants and refugees. (Kangas-Müller, Eräranta, and Moisander 2023)

This thesis delves into the intricate dynamics of urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality through a comparative analysis of two Croatian cities: Zagreb and Rijeka. As the capital city, Zagreb manifests as a central node within Croatia's political, social, and economic landscape, offering a diverse range of services and opportunities to migrants. Rijeka, on the other hand, presents a distinct set of interactions between migrants and the urban environment due to its strategic port location and smaller scale. Both cities have developed unique approaches to addressing the needs of their migrant populations, shaped by their respective sizes, resource availability, and social fabrics. (Castillo 2021)

The cities of Zagreb and Rijeka are part of the passageway of the so-called Balkan route. Countries such as Greece, FYR (Former Yugoslav Republic of), Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary, Croatia, and Slovenia are part of the Balkan route. From 2014 until 2016, the Balkan Route „had become practically the only accessible channel towards Central and Northern Europe ". Further analysis relevant to the case of Croatia will be provided in Chapter 4. (European Border and Coast Guard Agency. 2021)

By applying Zagreb and Rijeka as compelling case studies, this thesis aims to disentangle the complexities of urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality. It seeks to illuminate how diverse actors within these cities – ranging from governmental bodies and international organizations to civil society groups and religious institutions – contribute to fostering spaces of inclusion and enacting practices of solidarity for migrant populations. (Bauder and Gonzalez 2018a)

Key themes explored:

Urban Sanctuary: How do Zagreb and Rijeka create environments of safety and security for migrants, particularly those facing vulnerability or marginalization?

Migrant Solidarity: What forms of solidarity emerge within and between migrant communities, and how do these contribute to their integration and well-being?

Hospitality: What role does hospitality, understood in its broader sense beyond mere accommodation, play in shaping migrant experiences in urban spaces?

Comparative Analysis: How do the contrasting urban contexts of Zagreb and Rijeka influence the approaches taken towards migrant inclusion and the experiences of migrants themselves?

Ethics, class, and religion are potential conflict creators among the migrant population in Croatia. The conflict potential is not developed through the relationship of domestic citizens and migrants but rather through migrants themselves. The agencies bringing labour migrants to Croatia are a major part of the problem. Indian workers are the ones who are trying to improve working conditions for themselves, while Nepalese workers are accepting any conditions given. Conflict in this connotation is rather brought from

their understanding of labour and the market. Furthermore, agencies do not consider the background of people who come in to work here. Problems, for example, with Indian workers in Croatia are brought from their domestic country and are racial, ethical, class, and religious. So far, no one has investigated that issue in Croatia and hasn't considered how to fix it. More and more times, we can find in media about migrant issues and fights between themselves on Croatian soil.

This thesis contributes to a growing body of scholarship on migration and urban studies by offering a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted dynamics at play in creating spaces of sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality for migrants within the European context. Through its comparative analysis of Zagreb and Rijeka, the thesis sheds light on the diverse ways in which cities can approach migrant inclusion, offering valuable insights for policymakers, practitioners, and researchers alike.

1.2 Research Objectives

The primary objectives of this study are to:

Analyze and compare the approaches of Zagreb and Rijeka in providing sanctuary and solidarity to migrants, highlighting the roles of various institutional and civil society actors.

Examine the impact of these urban practices on the lived experiences of migrants, focusing on integration, social inclusion, and access to services.

Explore the theoretical implications of the urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality, employing the frameworks provided by scholars such as Oscar Garcia Agustin, Martin Bak Jorgensen, and Nina Glick Schiller.

Offer insights into how urban policies and initiatives can be designed or improved to better support the need Problem Formulation:

In the current European migration landscape, cities serve as crucial elements for legislating and contesting policies concerning migrant inclusion and exclusion. Croatia, positioned along the Balkan route, finds its cities, particularly Zagreb and Rijeka, at the forefront of addressing migration challenges. The cities of Zagreb and Rijeka, each with distinct socio-economic backgrounds and historical legacies, offer a case study of how urban environments respond to, integrate, and manage migrant populations. Despite their significant role in regional migration dynamics, the effectiveness of Zagreb's and Rijeka's approaches to fostering urban spaces of safety, solidarity, and inclusivity remains underexplored, especially regarding the impacts on the lived experiences of migrants and urban development.

Research Question:

How do Zagreb and Rijeka manage and integrate migrants, and what are the implications of their strategies for urban development and policy-making in the context of European migration dynamics?

1.3 Significance of the Study

This research is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it contributes to the burgeoning field of migration studies by focusing on the urban dimensions of migration, an area that is increasingly recognized as crucial for understanding contemporary migration dynamics. Secondly, by employing a comparative case study approach, this thesis enriches our understanding of how different urban contexts shape the possibilities and limits of sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality. Thirdly, the study provides practical insights that can

inform policymakers, practitioners, and civil society organizations involved in migration governance and support at the city level. Moreover, this study addresses a critical gap in existing scholarship. While the concepts of urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality have garnered significant attention in recent years, research specifically examining these themes within the Croatian context remains scarce to non-existent. This study therefore fills a vital void, contributing new knowledge and insights to the theoretical debates surrounding these concepts through a grounded analysis of two contrasting Croatian cities. By doing so, it paves the way for further research exploring similar themes in other understudied contexts, fostering a more nuanced understanding of how urban environments shape migrant experiences across diverse settings. Finally, it adds to the theoretical debates surrounding urban sanctuary and migrant solidarity, offering a grounded analysis that can inform future research in this field.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into the following chapters:

Chapter 2 starts with a literature review – Reviews existing literature on urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality, setting the conceptual and theoretical groundwork for the study. It builds on a theoretical framework and presents the theoretical approaches that guide the analysis, focusing on the specific contributions of Agustin, Jorgensen, and Glick Schiller to the understanding of urban responses to migration, such as their work on the role of social networks, the impact of urban policies, and the dynamics of migrant solidarity.

Chapter 3 is a Methodology section that describes the research design, including data collection methods (semi-structured interviews, participant observation) and analytical strategies.

The contextual background of Croatian migration trends is presented in Chapter 4, providing a comprehensive overview of the historical, social, and economic factors that have shaped these trends, and their implications for the study's focus on urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality.

Chapter 5 delves deep into the Case Studies of Zagreb and Rijeka. It offers a rich and detailed analysis of the migrant support mechanisms and solidarity practices in these cities. By comparing the findings from Zagreb and Rijeka, we draw out key insights, patterns, and differences, providing a nuanced understanding of the urban responses to migration in these contexts.

Chapters 6 and 7 wrap up with a Discussion and Conclusion—Summarizing the main findings, discussing their implications for policy and practice, and outlining directions for future research.

This structure is designed to provide a comprehensive and coherent exploration of the urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality in the context of Zagreb and Rijeka, contributing valuable insights to both academic and practical fields.

(Platts-Fowler and Robinson 2015), explores the nuanced integration processes of refugees by analyzing their experiences within urban environments in England. This work highlights the importance of local context in shaping refugees' opportunities for social and economic integration, highlighting how cities can facilitate or hinder these processes. (Bynner 2019) comprehensive study explores how demographic diversity within a neighbourhood influences intergroup relations and community cohesion. Bynner's work underscores the dynamic nature of urban neighbourhoods and how the continuous changes in population composition can significantly impact the social fabric of a community. This perspective is particularly relevant in the context of understanding the intricate layers of migrant integration and the role of urban policies in fostering environments that are supportive of diverse populations. The research of (Oomen 2020) and (Aydar 2022) further enriches this discourse by highlighting the role of transnational networks and the perceptions of local stakeholders in enhancing migrant opportunities. Collectively, this body of work underscores the pivotal role of local governance in the complexities of migration management.

This segment of the literature discusses urban areas as sanctuaries that protect undocumented immigrants by limiting cooperation with federal immigration authorities. (Anon 1993) analysis of global cities as integral nodes within transnational networks provides a robust framework for understanding how urban environments shape and contest migration policies. This conceptual groundwork connects to (Castles 2000) exploration of migration's impact on social structures and the lives of individuals across various geographies, enriching our understanding of migration's spatial and human dimensions.

Further enriching this discussion, (Soysal 1994) and (Kymlicka 1996) critically examine the fluid concept of citizenship within urban contexts. Their discussions revolve around the transformation of citizenship beyond traditional national boundaries, highlighting how urban settings facilitate the inclusion of migrants within the broader polity, thus emphasizing the cities' roles as active agents in the integration process.

This theoretical foundation is complemented by insights from (Tarrow 1998) and (Tilly 2004), who have extensively analyzed how social movements and collective actions shape public policies. Their research illuminates the significant role of urban-based advocacy and civil society initiatives in influencing migration policies, underscoring the dynamic interplay between grassroots movements and urban governance. They are further expanded upon by (Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016)) and (Bauder 2021b), who explore the negotiations and extensions of urban solidarity beyond city boundaries. (Griffin, Wallace, and Rubin 1986) and (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996) introduce the concept of countermobilization in social movements, highlighting the inevitable resistance that urban sanctuary and solidarity movements face against state policies and practices. These movements are framed within historical struggles and legislative counteractions, as seen in (Fragomen 1997), who discuss the impacts of restrictive laws on sanctuary practices.

Research on integration measures the socioeconomic and cultural incorporation of migrants into cities, with (Ager and Strang 2008) providing a widely used framework of integration indicators. (Phillimore 2011) enhances this discussion by focusing on the impact of local community initiatives. The historical context of sanctuary movements, as explored by (Shoemaker and Gibbs 2013), (Millner 2013), and

(Bagelman 2016), outlines the deep-rooted traditions and the evolution of sanctuary practices from ancient times to modern urban strategies in North America and Europe.

This thesis is important as it fills a void in the literature by providing a comparative analysis of how Zagreb and Rijeka, two Croatian cities with distinct roles within Europe's migration landscape, respond to the challenges and opportunities presented by migration. While the existing literature offers valuable insights into general urban responses to migration, this study is crucial as it explicitly analyzes the impact of these policies within the Croatian context, where there is a significant research gap. Moreover, it introduces new empirical data and perspectives, mainly focusing on how local entities in Zagreb and Rijeka engage with and support migrant populations. This area has not been explored in current research, underscoring the urgency and importance of this study.

This thesis makes a unique contribution to the literature by highlighting the differential impacts of migration in cities that serve as destinations and transit points within the same national context, a comparative angle rarely addressed in existing studies. It also brings to light the specific strategies employed by Zagreb and Rijeka in fostering safety, solidarity, and hospitality. Additionally, by incorporating perspectives from various stakeholders, including NGOs and local government officials, this thesis enriches understanding of how migration is managed locally, providing actionable insights that could inform policy within Croatia and similar urban contexts globally. This practical approach ensures that the audience is not only informed but also empowered to make meaningful changes in their respective fields.

Despite the extensive research on urban migration, there is an urgent and compelling need for more detailed studies that include the voices of migrants themselves. Future research should prioritize the experiences and perceptions of migrants to better understand the effectiveness of integration strategies and urban policies from the perspective of those directly affected. This approach would not only fill a critical gap in the literature but also foster the development of more nuanced and empathetic migration policies, thereby ensuring the inclusion of all stakeholders in the policy-making process. The insights from this literature review inform the subsequent chapters, which will delve into a comparative empirical analysis of migration management in Zagreb and Rijeka, exploring how theoretical insights play out in real-world scenarios and informing future urban migration policy developments. This emphasis on inclusivity underscores the importance of considering all perspectives, making the audience feel the urgency and importance of this approach.

- *2.1 Concepts of Urban Sanctuary, Solidarity, and Hospitality*

Ideas of urban refuge, solidarity and hospitality have emerged as key in scholarship on the dynamics of cities as areas of refuge, resistance and rights for migrants. Although distinguishable, these principles intersect in the urban context and provide a lens through which to examine the complexities of urban migration, integration and coexistence. This theoretical segment of the work examines these three standards and traces their origins, transitions and approaches to interaction within the modern urban environment.

The idea of a sanctuary city first stems from the ancient practice of providing safe shelter to those seeking protection. In the modern setting, it has been adapted to explain cities that adopt policies or practices aimed at protecting migrants from deportation and ensuring access to city services, regardless of their legal notoriety. Sanctuaries tap into national immigration control structures by developing inclusive and

protective areas for undocumented migrants. The concept has long been revitalized in the United States and Europe as a form of close resistance to restrictive nationwide immigration regulations. (Bauder and Gonzalez 2018b)

Solidarity in the context of urban migration refers to the leadership and team spirit shown by the city's citizens, institutions, and often the surrounding governments that are closer to the migrants. This includes various movements, from grassroots activism and advocacy to formal regulations promoting social inclusion and rights. (Bauder 2021a) Solidarity is a principle and practice that challenges the marginalization of migrants, aiming to create groups based entirely on mutual aid, admiration and shared responsibilities. It embodies a collective effort to create a more just urban area that overcomes ethnic, national and criminal divides.

Deeply rooted in ethical and philosophical traditions, hospitality means welcoming and protecting strangers or guests. In an urban context, it indicates cities' openness and residents' openness to receive, accommodate and connect migrants. Hospitality requires a situation, a perception of the metropolis as a closed entity, standing for an urban space characterized by openness, encountering the situation and the opportunity of the latest types of coexistence. It raises fundamental questions about who has the right to provide hospitality and in what phrases and highlights the power dynamics involved in the reception and integration of migrants into the urban fabric. (Sidhu and Rossi-Sackey 2022)

Unconditional hospitality, by its definition, entails no limitations or expectations of reciprocation. Yet, achieving this ideal is unattainable. In reality, conditions invariably emerge; hosts set boundaries for their guests, and the concept of the state parallels that of a home. No nation offers unconditional hospitality without sovereignty concerns, characterized by open borders where the distinctions between guest and host blur and potentially reverse. This is based on Jørgensen and Agustín's forthcoming work, "Urban Cosmopolitanism: Towards Multiscalar Networks of Solidarity and Hospitality Cities."

Ideas of urban sanctuary, solidarity and hospitality interact dynamically in cities, developing a complicated tapestry of practices and rules that reflect the multifaceted nature of urban life. Sanctuaries provide frameworks for crime and cover that defend migrants, while acts of solidarity offer social assistance and advocacy, which have had to engage in exclusion systems. On the other hand, hospitality shows the ethical and cultural dimensions of welcoming and living with migrants, emphasizing the importance of social harmony and integration. (Georgiou, Hall, and Dajani 2022)

Cities embody these concepts differently, prompted by their precise political, social and cultural context. The interplay between sanctuary, unity and hospitality in the urban environment shows the capacity of cities to act as counterpoints to national regulations and foster an environment in which migrants can find safety, help and a sense of belonging. (Agustín and Jørgensen 2019a) However, these ideas also create challenging situations and contradictions, including the tension between the inclusive regulations of shelter cities and the exclusionary realities that migrants often face or the limits of hospitality in the face of limited resources and social resistance. (Bauder 2021b)

Urban sanctuary, cohesion, and hospitality provide potent frameworks for studying and advocating for more inclusive and equitable urban spaces for migrants. By exploring these ideas and their interplay, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of the capacity and boundaries of cities as refuges and resistance. Cities remain at the forefront of migration dynamics, and examining these concepts provides

a critical perspective on how urban environments can promote belonging, protection and coexistence in an increasingly globalized world. (Preston, Shields, and Akbar 2022)

- *2.2 Theories of Global Migration and Urban Sociology*

Since the beginning of human history, migrations have played a crucial role in civilization and have always been a central element of social change. Human mobility through all epochs has been a strategy for survival. The study of migration takes place at the level of a multidimensional concept whose definition depends on various aspects. Migrations are more than the visible relocation of individuals or groups; they are "one of the fundamental properties of man's instinct for movement, his existential necessity, and a reflection of his general curiosity." (Friganović 1989) Critical factors of migration also include the diversity in development between the area of departure and the destination, the growth of the economy in developed countries, and changes in the labour market structure of such developed economies that can offer migrants better living, working, and financial conditions. What motivates a migrant to leave is some form of dissatisfaction with existing life circumstances in the country of origin, such as unemployment, low wages, political and economic instability, war, and natural disasters. (Jurčević 2022) Speaking of migration typology, economic and non-economic migrations are distinguished, and according to the criterion of legality, voluntary migrations (personal reasons that do not include an element of coercion) and forced migrations (impersonal reasons with an element of coercion) are identified. However, migrants do not have to exclusively belong to one of these categories and can, over time, move from one to another. (Lalić Novak and Giljević 2019a) (Jurčević 2022) considers the very term migrant as an umbrella term that simultaneously implies several different categories of migrants, and distinguishing between them is crucial since each is defined by a corresponding degree of legal protection. Furthermore, he notes that an economic migrant is a person who has left their own country for economic gain, defines refugees as people who have left their country due to war activities and persecution and determines asylum seekers as people seeking international protection due to fleeing persecution. (Lalić Novak and Giljević 2019a) collectively use the term mixed migration flows to establish different categories of migrants. They define economic migrants as people who leave their own country for economic benefit and do not meet the criteria of refugees and, consequently, do not have the right to international protection that refugees have because they enjoy the protection of their state and can freely return to it. In defining the term refugee, they use the definition from the 1951 Refugee Convention, which in Article 1 provides a unique definition of the term refugee. This definition emphasizes the protection of persons from political or other forms of persecution. According to the Convention, a refugee is a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is unable or unwilling to return to the country of origin. These categories of migrants can be considered well-founded, although they are constantly subject to the challenges of different national and regional contexts (Gauci, Giuffré, and Tsourdi 2015) Thus, the terms migrant and refugee are fluid and subject to change and redefinition. Increasingly introduced into the scientific discourse is the, until now, less considered category of climate migrants. The growing impact of global climate change causes more and more people to leave their homes due to devastating floods, droughts, landslides, and rising sea levels. Therefore, it is correct to speak of mixed migration flows in the context of contemporary migration processes, encompassing different categories of migrants who leave their countries and cross the borders of destination countries with or without appropriate documents. (Collier 2013) In recent decades, migration processes have been in special focus and affect almost all countries in the world in their complexity and scale. The number of international migrants has significantly increased in the second half of the century. People leave their country due to ethnic, religious, racial, or political

persecution. According to UNHCR data, more than 84 million people were displaced in the first half of 2021, marking a significant increase compared to 2020, when the total number amounted to 82.4 million. About 42% of the total number are children and adolescents, among which about a million children were born as refugees in the last three years. In recent years, Europe has experienced a large wave of migration from people affected by armed conflicts. Of the 295,800 asylum seekers who were granted protection status in the European Union in 2019, more than a quarter were from war-torn Syria, followed by Afghanistan and Iraq. Furthermore, There are also gaps and shortcomings in the EU's policy on returning migrants, MEPs say in a resolution on implementing the return directive, which sets out common rules for the return of non-EU nationals who do not have the right to stay in the European Union. (Jurčević 2022) It is imperative to acknowledge the absence of a singular, unified theoretical framework encompassing the multifaceted phenomenon of migration. The diverse theories developed over the years emerge from various perspectives, each offering distinct insights into the complexities of migration processes. The theories elucidated herein have been meticulously selected for their particular relevance to this master's thesis, which undertakes a comparative analysis of Zagreb and Rijeka. These selected theoretical constructs are instrumental in framing the comparative study, providing a strong academic foundation for understanding the migration dynamics within these two distinct urban contexts.

Figure 1- Return of migrants
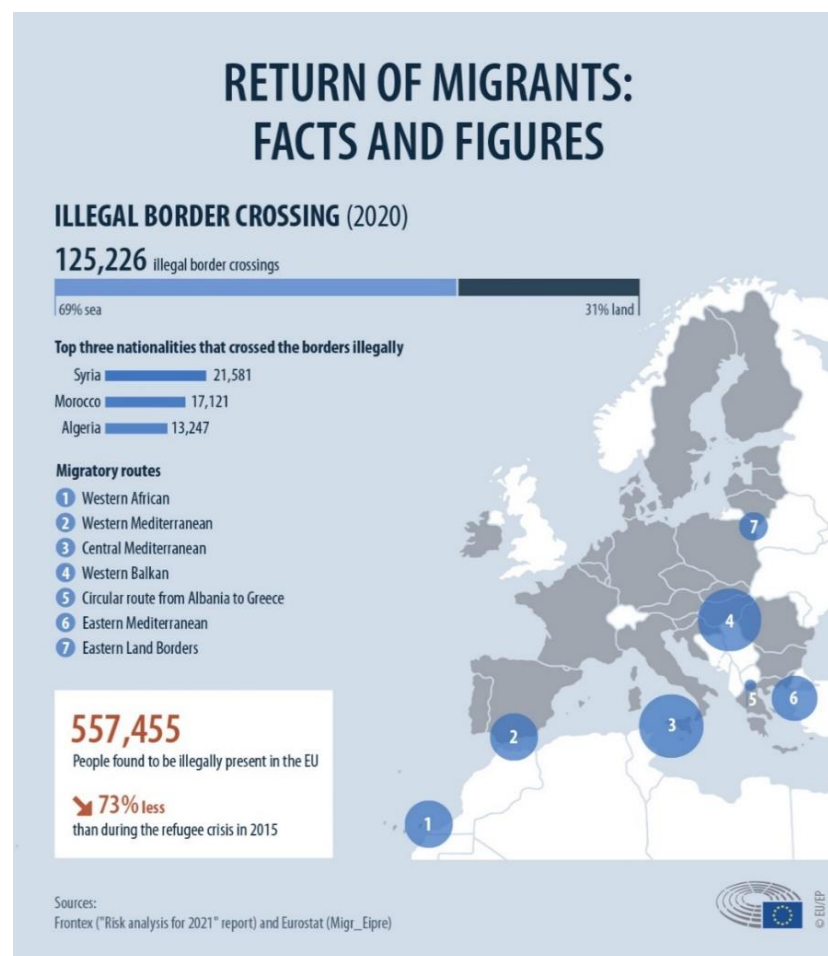
(Europarl, 2021)

Global Migration theories:

Push and Pull Factors and Lee's Theory of Migration

A constellation of push shapes the motivations underlying migration and pull factors, which either impel individuals to relocate to new areas or necessitate their departure from their current residences. These factors span economic, political, cultural, and environmental domains. Push factors may precipitate individuals' exodus from their homelands, linked to the nations they emigrate from. Such factors encompass the lack of viable livelihood opportunities, pervasive poverty, demographic expansions outpacing the availability of essential resources, substandard or inadequate living conditions, environmental degradation and desertification, occurrences of famines or droughts, apprehensions of political persecution, deficient healthcare services, erosion of wealth, and the impacts of natural calamities. Conversely, pull factors represent the antithesis of push factors, drawing people toward specific locales. Main among these are enhanced employment prospects and improved standards of living; the ready availability of land for habitation and agricultural pursuits, political and/or religious liberty, superior educational and social welfare infrastructures, advanced transportation and communication networks, more effective healthcare systems and environments conducive to well-being, and a sense of security. (Lee 1966) Croatia is a new country in this type of migration. So far, the most significant wave of migration has occurred during a Homeland War, when most citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina were migrating to Croatia. The push-pull theory is a reasonably old conceptualization, but in the given Croatian context as a new migration destination, this theory is relevant and could function in this analysis.

The Dual Labour Market Theory

Dual labour market theory, as formulated by Michael Piore and others in the second half of the twentieth century, represents a fundamental departure from conventional, homogeneous market analyses, which instead assume that advanced economies are characterized by being inherently bifurcated. Employment is referred to as primary and secondary markets. This bifurcation is not merely a superficial segmentation. But it shows the labour market's deep-seated structural and operational dichotomies, each manipulated using fantastic economic ideas, conditions, and outcomes. (Piore 1979)

The primary market provides substantial job opportunities, comparably high wages, tremendous job security, comprehensive benefits and transparent career development paths. Jobs in this field usually require higher skill and training and are often found in large, extra-committed corporations. The balance and blessings associated with being the market leader of hard work are supported by formal and informal institutional arrangements, including trade unions, corporate policies and regulatory frameworks, which create favourable operating conditions. (Doeringer and Piore 2020)

Conversely, the secondary market is characterized by its precarious nature, involving jobs that provide lower wages, minimal job protection, scant benefits, and limited opportunities for upward mobility. High turnover prices, bent and uncertain painting schedules, and minimal protection against arbitrary dismissal often mean employment in this zone. The secondary market disproportionately attracts and consists of marginalized corporate people, including migrants, ethnic minorities and various socio-economically disadvantaged populations, who face systemic limitations in accessing more stable money-making opportunities in the number one market. (Gordon, Edwards, and Reich 1982)

Piore's dual labour market theory emerged as a critique of the neoclassical monetary approach, which viewed labour markets as unified and regulated typically through wage levels. Piore argued that one of these monolithic views overlooks the complicated reality of the effort it requires and brings, especially the structural demand in advanced economies for the double pressure of hard work. He advised me that migration patterns cannot be fully understood through wage differentials. (Piore 1979)

This theory illuminates the systemic nature of labour market segmentation and emphasizes the function of institutional, social, and economic forces in maintaining the division. It highlights how the secondary burden market serves as a buffer in opposition to economic swings, with its employees bearing the brunt of financial downturns due to increased process uncertainty and unemployment. Dual labour market theory has profound implications for the know-how of global migration, social stratification, and employment rules. It provides a framework for studying persistent inequalities in challenging labour markets and the complex interplay between monetary structures, migration flows and social policies. This principle has also informed debates on labour market reforms, the minimum wage law and the integration of migrants into host societies, underscoring the need for regulations that address the root causes of complex labour market segmentation and its socio-monetary outcomes. The theory has been critiqued and extended in instructional discourse, mainly through extraordinary expertise in the dynamics of the challenging labour market and the elements contributing to maintaining the first and secondary sections. Scholars have explored the consequences of technological improvements, globalization, and coverage adjustments on complex labour market systems, contributing to a rich body of literature that continues to develop in response to the transformation of monetary realities. (Piore 1979)

This theory will be implemented by understanding how the local labour market is segmented into primary and secondary sectors, as described by Piore. Assess the distribution of migrants across these sectors to determine whether they are concentrated more in the secondary sector, which typically offers lower wages, minimal job security, and limited opportunities for advancement—exploring the social dynamics within the local labour market, including perceptions of migrants among local workers, interactions between migrant and non-migrant workers, and the presence of discrimination or prejudice. Discuss how social factors may exacerbate tensions or contribute to group solidarity and cooperation.

Urban Marginality Theory:

The idea of urban marginality, promoted by sociologists including Loïc Wacquant, deals with the complex and multifaceted phenomenon of social exclusion and financial deprivation in the urban environment. It seeks to understand the dynamics and situations that contribute to the marginalization of specific urban populations, specializing in how spatial segregation, financial restructuring, national directives and social stigmatization converge to create areas of urban disadvantage. (Wacquant 2010) The concept of urban marginality significantly examines the approaches in which high-end urban spaces – especially in neoliberal capitalist societies – are prepared to exacerbate social inequalities and the isolation of disadvantaged businesses. (Wacquant 2009) It posits that marginality is not simply a by-product of financial underperformance or character flaws. However, it is structurally embedded in the urban fabric, sustained through systemic forces that include, but are not limited to:

Economic Restructuring: The shift from primarily manufacturing to service-oriented economies has resulted in the erosion of solid, well-paid jobs for low-skilled workers, improving unemployment and underemployment in positive urban areas.
Spatial segregation: The physical and social isolation of disadvantaged communities on urban fringes or in

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run-down key regions, regularly reinforced by housing directives, market dynamics and urban planning choices, exacerbates social exclusion. (Wacquant 2001)

State Policy: Restrictions on social assistance, coupled with repressive regulatory enforcement practices, disproportionately affect marginalized urban populations, limiting their access to social assistance while increasing their publicity for surveillance and punishment. Social Stigmatization: The stigmatization of horrible and marginalized organizations, often racially motivated, reinforces social exclusion and reduces opportunities for social mobility, perpetuating cycles of poverty and exclusion. (Wacquant 2001)

The idea of urban marginality sheds light on the approaches that produce and reproduce urban areas of exclusion and highlights the interconnected roles of economic, social and political factors in shaping the lived experiences of marginalized populations. It emphasizes the effort to critically study urban policies and practices that contribute to spatial and social differences and to advocate techniques that deal with the root causes of marginality instead of its signs and symptoms. (Wacquant 1996)

- *2.3 Martin Bak Jorgensen's and Oscar Garcia Agustin's Contributions to Urban Sanctuary, Solidarity and Migrant Hospitality*

Migrant solidarity represents a multifaceted approach that includes a wide range of actions, guidelines, and social projects that can be urged for the rights, well-being, and seamless integration of migrants and refugees into host societies. (Koos and Seibel 2019) The papers from Martin Bak Jorgensen and Oscar García Agustin marked a significant advancement in research on this topic, driving intensive study into conceptualization, realistic enactment and mobilization of unity in different scenarios. (Squire 2011) Their academic contributions demystify the pivotal function performed within the range of neighbourhood communities, non-governmental businesses (NGOs), and urban policy frameworks in creating environments that support migrant assistance. (Però 2020) This master's thesis seeks to delve into the essence of their theories to create a complete theoretical foundation for analyzing migrant solidarity in the modern city setting.

Grassroots Solidarity

Jorgensen's research on grassroots solidarity proposes a nuanced and critical perspective on how localized actions and community-led initiatives are the basis for fostering inclusive and supportive environments for migrants and refugees worldwide. (Nyers 2011) Work from Jorgensen delves into the intricacies of grassroots movements. Furthermore, it illuminates how migration narratives and policies challenge these entities through daily solidarity and resistance.(Ataç et al. 2016) This section highlights Jorgensen's theoretical contributions, emphasizing the significance of grassroots solidarity in catalyzing social and political change from the ground up. (Nowicka, Krzyżowski, and Ohm 2019) Jorgensen's analysis core is grassroots solidarity, which he distinguishes from more institutionalized forms of support. Grassroots solidarity arises from the communities and through the actions of individuals and small communities. The Characteristic of this form of solidarity is its bottom-up approach, where the momentum for action and support is created within the community rather than imposed from above. The decentralized model of solidarity is crucial for understanding how local contexts and dynamics shape the support provided to migrants. (Schierup and Jørgensen 2016) It also presents an analytical examination of the dynamics of grassroots mobilization, concentrating on how these movements emerge, organize, and persist. Several essential aspects that contribute to the efficacy and persistence of grassroots solidarity initiatives have

been identified, including the relevance of local knowledge, adaptability to changing conditions, and the formation of support networks that extend beyond the immediate community.

Figure 2- Transversal solidarity
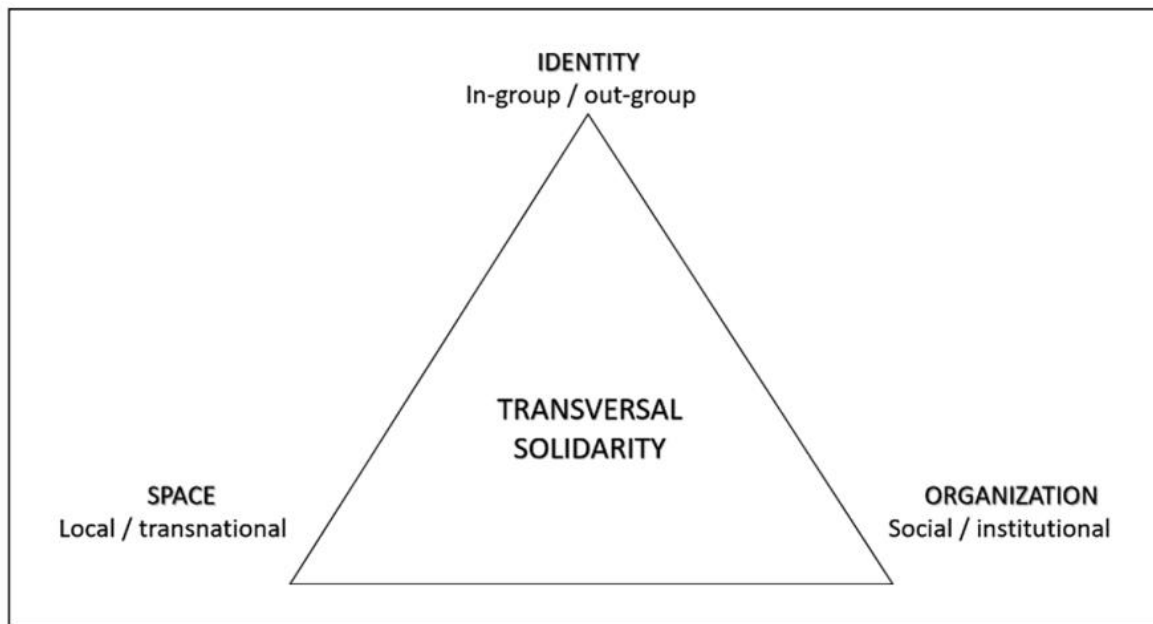
(García Agustín and Jørgensen 2021a)

The significance of these movements is multifaceted; their ideas and techniques reflect the numerous demands and obstacles that migrants experience in different situations. Jorgensen's idea emphasizes the importance of ordinary and everyday gestures of solidarity. Often minor and insignificant, these activities establish a culture of support and inclusion throughout communities, which is of essence. Jorgensen emphasizes how such efforts, ranging from personal greetings to arranging community events to honour cultural variety, bring into question assumptions and biases about migrants. Through these everyday acts, grassroots solidarity groups help to shape alternative narratives about migration that emphasize human dignity, mutual respect, and social cohesiveness. *(García Agustín and Jørgensen 2021a)*

Figure 3- Transversal solidarity II
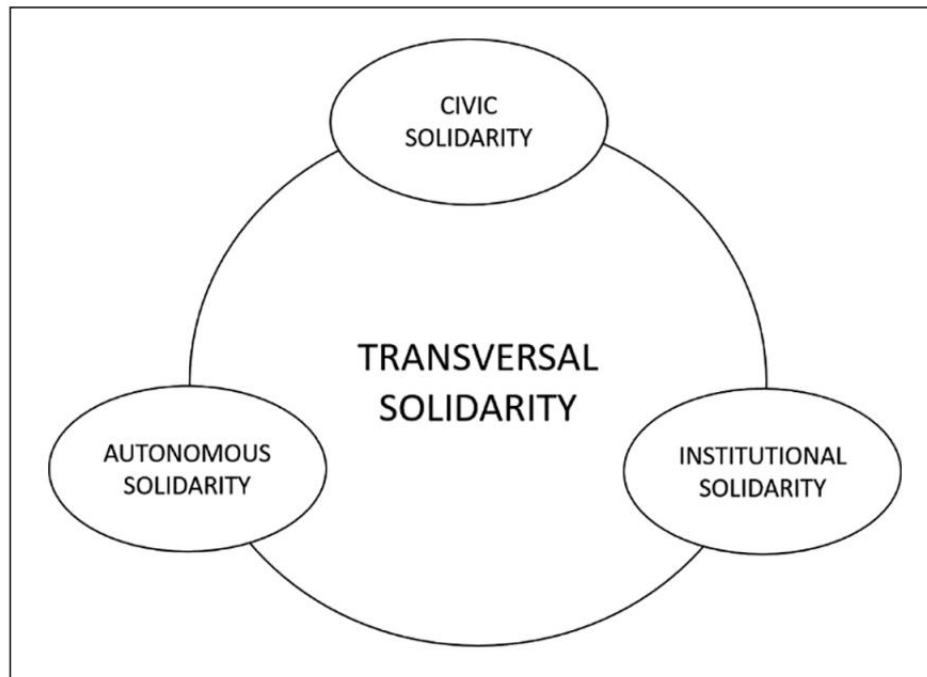
(García Agustín and Jørgensen 2021b)

Embracing grassroots solidarity not just as a form of support for migrants, but also as a powerful counter-narrative to mainstream discourses that frequently depict migrants unfavorably. By emphasizing the positive effects of migration and the reciprocal advantages of inclusive communities, grassroots organizations combat the fear-based rhetoric that pervades some media and political discourse. According to Agustin's view, grassroots solidarity has the ability to alter public opinion and policy by emphasizing the personal stories behind migration and the strength that comes from variety.

Figure 4-Types and dimensions of transversal solidarity

Table 1. Types and dimensions of transversal solidarity.

Types	Dimensions		
	Identity	Space	Organisation
Autonomous solidarity	Activist citizens, co-habitants	Occupied/appropriated urban spaces, multi-scalar critique	Social institutions, direct democracy
Civic solidarity	Cosmopolitan activism, we-ness	Local communities, contesting the nation-state	Self-organisation, inclusive democracy, shaping civil alliances, policy oriented
Institutional solidarity	Grassroots institutions, institutions as rights and obligations	Institutional(ising) urban spaces, national and transnational networks	Municipal openness to civil society's cooperation, participatory democracy

(García Agustín and Jørgensen 2021b)

While Jorgensen's work recognizes the successes of grassroots solidarity, it also acknowledges the problems these movements face. These include limited resources, legal impediments, and the danger of fatigue among campaigners. Despite these limitations, Jorgensen sees opportunities for creativity, cooperation, and solidarity network development. He contends that grassroots movements' durability stems from their capacity to organize resources, form coalitions, and traverse the complicated sociopolitical landscapes that shape migration policies and practices. (García Agustín and Jørgensen 2021a)

The Urban Sanctuary

Oscar Garcia Agustin's research on urban sanctuary and solidarity provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how cities may act as refuge for migrants and refugees, providing them with shelter, assistance, and opportunity for integration. Agustin's study looks critically at the role of urban areas and municipal policies in building environments that preserve the concepts of hospitality, inclusivity, and human rights. This part expands on Agustin's contributions, emphasizing the transforming power of urban solidarity in today's migratory difficulties. (Bauder 2021b) Agustin provides the idea of the municipal sanctuary as an alternative to national and international regulations that frequently restrict migrants' rights and freedoms. He claims that cities, due to their particular sociopolitical and economic configurations, can establish laws and practices that offer migrants safety and assistance, regardless of their legal status. This urban sanctuary framework focuses on the role of municipal governments, local institutions, and community organizations in creating a welcoming and inclusive environment for all inhabitants. (Agustín and Jørgensen 2019b) Using thorough case studies and empirical research, Agustin analyzes how urban solidarity manifests itself in numerous locations worldwide. He cites crucial components that contribute to the success of urban sanctuary programs, such as municipal solid leadership, active participation with civil society, and implementing policies that improve migrants' access to housing, healthcare, education, and work. Agustin's study focuses on the innovative approaches that cities use to become more inclusive, such as building migrant resource centres, providing legal help programs, and developing forums for intercultural discussion and exchange. (Bauder 2021b) Agustin's study includes examining the political elements of urban sanctuary and solidarity. He sees these projects not just as humanitarian or social efforts but also as political acts that challenge restrictive migration regimes and fight for more just and equal treatment of migrants. Agustin contends that by designating sanctuaries, towns may demonstrate their sovereignty while opposing policies harming migrants' rights and dignity. According to Agustin, this political position is critical for generating support and instilling a feeling of communal responsibility for migrants in urban neighbourhoods. (García Agustín and Jørgensen 2021a) Agustin broadens the definition of sanctuary beyond the city's physical boundaries to incorporate a larger sense of solidarity with social, cultural, and emotional components. He presents the concept of "spaces of solidarity," which are formed by the activities and interactions of individuals, communities, and organizations dedicated to assisting migrants. These places are distinguished by their capacity to provide both safety and possibilities for social inclusion, cultural exchange, and mutual learning. He highlights the significance of these places in assisting migrants' absorption into the urban fabric while also fostering a sense of belonging and community among heterogeneous communities. While Agustin's research highlights the accomplishments of urban sanctuary initiatives, it also recognizes their shortcomings. These include overcoming legal and political limits, resolving disagreements among various community groups, and guaranteeing the long-term viability of solidarity programs. Despite these obstacles, Agustin remains hopeful about cities' ability to adapt and build more welcoming and helpful migrant environments. He

advocates for more city collaboration, exchanging best practices, and establishing solidarity networks to increase the effect of urban sanctuary projects. (Agustín and Jørgensen 2019b)

By analyzing the specific conditions and initiatives within Zagreb as capital and Rijeka as port transit city, we can better understand the practical applications of these theoretical concepts and their potential to foster more inclusive urban environments.

Zagreb and Rijeka

As Croatia's capital, Zagreb has a pivotal role in the Balkan migration route and has witnessed various waves of migrants and refugees in past decade. Drawing from Jorgensen's emphasis on grassroots solidarity, Zagreb can leverage its vibrant civil society and network of NGOs to foster a welcoming atmosphere for migrants. Initiatives could include community-based programs facilitating cultural exchange, language learning, and social integration. By encouraging volunteerism and local engagement in support of migrants, Zagreb can cultivate a sense of shared community and mutual respect that transcends cultural and national boundaries.

Grassroots movements in Zagreb can also be crucial in challenging prevailing narratives around migration and promoting a more inclusive and humanizing discourse. These movements, by highlighting the individual stories and contributions of migrants, can help counteract stereotypes and xenophobia, fostering a more compassionate and understanding society. Rijeka's status as a European Capital of Culture in 2020 highlighted its commitment to diversity and inclusion. Garcia Agustin's concept of urban sanctuary can be particularly relevant for Rijeka, suggesting that the city can build on this foundation by implementing policies that specifically support migrants' rights and integration. This could involve creating safe spaces for migrants, providing access to essential services regardless of legal status, and engaging in partnerships with local businesses to facilitate employment opportunities. Moreover, Rijeka can harness its cultural and educational institutions to promote intercultural dialogue and understanding. Initiatives could include art projects, public forums, and educational programs that unite migrants and residents, fostering a sense of shared identity and solidarity. The presented section is the foundation of this thesis research, and it will be analyzed through fieldwork and semi-structured interviews with leading actors in the cities of Zagreb and Rijeka. This is an example of approaches to research and analysis in the cities of Zagreb and Rijeka; theoretical approaches will be mixed and used accordingly.

- *2.4 Nina Glick Schiller Theory on Migrants as Scale-Makers within Varying Pathways of Incorporation*

Drawing on Nina Glick Schiller's comprehensive framework of the comparative relative perspective on the relationships among migrants and towns, this phase expands upon the preliminary advent to delve deeper into the theoretical underpinnings and implications of town scale, dynamic processes of urban transformation, the continuum of city rescaling, and the pivotal interplay among migrant incorporation and urban reconstitution. Glick Schiller's work offers a nuanced lens to investigate the complex, reciprocal interactions between urban environments and migrant communities, underscoring the transformative influence of migration on cityscapes and vice versa. As conceptualized with the aid of Glick Schiller, the metropolis scale serves as a criticalan analytical device for knowledge of the multifaceted ways cities navigate and are placed inside the worldwide hierarchy. This scale reflects a city's potential to barter, take in, and mission political, monetary, and cultural powers. It suggests that the influence and status of a town on the global level are not simply byproducts of contemporary neoliberal manoeuvres but are deeply

entrenched in the ancient and socio-political legacies that form urban identities and capacities. By inspecting cities through this lens, researchers can find the layers of effect that outline city trajectories about migration styles. The scalar positioning of towns is inherently dynamic, characterized by continual shifts and adjustments in response to global monetary trends, political alliances, and cultural exchanges. This fluidity underlines the importance of expertise towns as active sellers of their rights, able to redefine their relationships with other urban centres, nations, and international networks. The ancient depth and structural legacies of cities play a critical role in this system, as they offer the foundation upon which contemporary growth, development, and integration techniques are built. Glick Schiller's belief of a metropolis-rescaling continuum gives a framework for evaluating and contrasting the various studies of urban centres within the face of neoliberal restructuring. This continuum highlights how towns adapt to and are reshaped through globalization, reflecting differing techniques in migrant incorporation, city governance, and social movement engagement. Through this comparative lens, pupils can perceive patterns of resilience, variation, and transformation that transcend man or woman metropolis reports, presenting insights into the broader manner of urban evolution inside the context of world migration. Central to Glick Schiller's angle is recognising migrants as vital actors in constructing city areas. Migrants contribute to the monetary vitality of cities through labour and entrepreneurship and play full-size roles in cultural illustration and the negotiation of urban identities. Their involvement in nearby governance and network organizations can facilitate or project neoliberal city strategies, impacting the city's positioning nationwide and worldwide. This interaction between migrant incorporation and concrete reconstitution underscores the reciprocal relationship between cities and their migrant populations, highlighting the capacity for migrants to steer the direction of urban improvement and scaling. Glick Schiller's comparative relative angle gives a robust theoretical basis for inspecting the problematic relationships between migrants and towns. It encourages a multidimensional evaluation that considers historical legacies, structural dynamics, and the lively position of migrants in shaping city futures. This approach enriches our expertise in urban scaling inside the context of worldwide migration and opens avenues for exploring the transformative potentials of migrant-town interactions. (Schiller 2012)

Hierarchy   is   created   likewise:
In a world increasingly defined by globalization and the transnational movement of people and ideas, the fabric of urban life has transformed dramatically. This transformation is explained in the theoretical framework proposed by Schiller in 2012, which classifies cities into a hierarchy based on their economic and cultural dynamics, specifically about the incorporation of migrants and their connection to transnational networks.

The top-scale cities—metropolises like London, New York, and Paris- are at the pinnacle of this urban hierarchy. These cities are not merely points on a map but vibrant ecosystems teeming with new-economy industries such as tech, finance, and creative sectors. They are powerhouses of cultural and political capital, where the fusion of diverse ideas and people fosters a rich tapestry of possibilities for migrants. Here, the process of migrant incorporation is multifaceted, offering a broad spectrum of opportunities for engagement and connection across global networks. (Schiller, pg. 190, 2012)

A step below, we find the up-scale cities. These urban areas, while not as globally dominant as their top-scale counterparts, have successfully harnessed the winds of new-economy industries to sail toward prosperity. They, too, are sites of significant cultural and political capital accumulations, albeit on a slightly smaller scale. In these cities, the opportunities for migrants are rich, underpinned by a thriving economic

and cultural landscape that encourages diverse forms of participation and integration. (Schiller, pg. 191, 2012)

In contrast, the low-scale cities present a different narrative. Though these cities participate in the global economy, often marketing themselves as hubs for specific new-economy industries, their reach and scope are limited. The opportunities for migrants in these cities are markedly different; the roles they can play and the spaces they can inhabit are constrained by the smaller size and breadth of the city's economic and cultural base. This positioning on the urban hierarchy reflects a more challenging landscape for incorporation and connection. (Schiller, pg. 192, 2012)

Further down the spectrum lie the down-scale cities. These urban areas are struggling to find their footing in the global economy. Despite some levels of international capital investment and concerted efforts at restructuring, including aggressive campaigns of rebuilding and rebranding, they lack a critical mass of new-economy sectors like knowledge, tourism, or entertainment. For migrants, these cities offer the most limited prospects, with the challenge of incorporation magnified by the cities' struggling economic and cultural landscapes. (Schiller, pg. 193, 2012)

Schiller's framework offers a lens through which to view the dynamic processes of urban transformation and migrant incorporation within the global hierarchy of cities. By categorizing cities into top-scale, up-scale, low-scale, and down-scale, Schiller provides a nuanced understanding of how the international economic and cultural continuum affects the integration of migrants and their ability to forge transnational connections. This perspective sheds light on the complexities of contemporary urban life and highlights the varied landscapes of opportunity and challenges faced by migrants across the globe.

Chapter 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Presentation:

Qualitative Data Collection:

For this master's thesis, a qualitative research methodology is employed to explore the complexities of the urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality within Zagreb and Rijeka. Qualitative methods are chosen for their ability to uncover the nuanced interactions between urban environments and migrant communities. This approach not only facilitates an in-depth understanding of how different actors within these cities—from local governments to non-governmental organizations—engage with and support migrant populations but also provides practical insights for policymakers and urban planners. The focus on qualitative data allows for a comprehensive analysis of the motivations, strategies, and impacts of these interventions on the urban scale and migrant experiences, thereby offering tangible and actionable recommendations for the improvement of urban policies and practices. (Bryman 2016)

Abductive Method and Theoretical Framework:

The research design of this thesis employs an abductive approach, which aligns with the nature of the qualitative approach as it aims to generate explanatory hypotheses based on facts or phenomena observed in data. This method, inspired by the philosophical underpinnings of Charles Sanders Peirce as interpreted in the context of social sciences by Claus Emmeche, allows for a flexible, iterative inquiry process. It involves formulating and refining hypotheses throughout the research process rather than at the beginning (Awuzie and McDermott 2017). In the case of this study, the initial observations in Zagreb and Rijeka provide a basis for developing hypotheses about the interaction between synthesizing

theoretical insights from both global migration theories and leveraging these theoretical lenses and local urban dynamics; the thesis navigates through the collected qualitative data from semi-structured interviews and participant observations to uncover patterns and insights. The abductive method supports moving back and forth between theory and empirical data, enabling a deep understanding of how specific theoretical concepts such as urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality manifest in the distinct contexts of the two cities.

This methodological choice is critical as it supports the thesis' objective to bridge theoretical frameworks with grounded urban realities and contributes a nuanced layer of analysis to the existing scholarship on urban migration responses. It facilitates the exploration of how global theories apply in local contexts and allows for the emergence of new theoretical insights that are grounded in empirical observations, thereby offering practical implications for urban planning and migration policies.

Epistemological Orientation with Interpretivism:

The epistemological orientation of this thesis adopts an interpretive approach, which emphasizes the importance of understanding the subjective perceptions and cultural contexts that shape social realities. This focus is crucial when exploring urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality within Zagreb and Rijeka. Interpretivism allows a deep exploration of how various stakeholders—migrants, local communities, and institutional actors—interpret and engage with these phenomena.

In this research, interpretivism asserts that our knowledge of reality is constructed through social interactions such as language, consciousness, and shared meanings. The thesis investigates the complex interactions within urban settings that are influenced by and influence the presence of migrants. It seeks to uncover how these cities act as social actors, creating environments that either support or oppose migrants and how these environments affect the experiences of all parties involved. (Bryman 2016)

Moreover, the interpretive approach provides insights into the motivations behind urban policies and societal responses, positioning Zagreb and Rijeka as cities of refuge and solidarity. This approach allows the research to delve into how migration is influenced by local dynamics, offering a detailed view of the urban migration landscape.

Primary data for this study is collected through semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders from NGOs and local government, offering direct insights into the local dynamics and strategies for integrating and supporting migrants. Secondary data includes naturally occurring documentation from relevant bodies and both published and unpublished articles related to urban sanctuaries and cities of solidarity/refuge.

This interpretive paradigm is integral for understanding the complex social realities of urban migration responses and the roles of various civil society organizations involved in these processes. By interpreting both primary and secondary data, this research synthesizes insights to enhance understanding of how urban policies and practices in Zagreb and Rijeka support the integration and well-being of migrants.

The analysis of this thesis does not merely describe but interprets various dimensions of solidarity and hospitality as experienced by individuals at the heart of urban migration narratives. It aims to provide a nuanced understanding of how cities can utilize their unique cultural and social resources to foster environments that are genuinely welcoming and supportive of migrants, thereby enhancing their global standing and capacity for social inclusion. This interpretive approach aligns with the broader

understanding of urban spaces as dynamic arenas for social interaction and transformation in the context of global migration, revealing broader patterns and implications for other urban settings facing similar challenges.

Quality Criteria for Qualitative Research:

When it comes to the quality of qualitative research, Bryman underscores the importance of trustworthiness and authenticity criteria, which are relevant to the case of this thesis. The research is focused on intricate social phenomena such as urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality (Bryman 2016). As (Nowell et al. 2017) suggest, trustworthiness in qualitative research is akin to the quantitative criteria of validity and reliability, but it's tailored to the subtleties of qualitative inquiry. This adaptation is crucial in establishing the credibility and reliability of our findings.

Credibility: This involves establishing confidence in the findings by ensuring they accurately represent the phenomena under study. For this thesis, credibility is achieved by ensuring that the interpretations of urban sanctuary and solidarity practices in Zagreb and Rijeka are consistent with the perceptions and experiences of the study's participants. Engaging directly with migrants, local community members, and institutional actors through semi-structured interviews helps to validate the findings through multiple perspectives.

Transferability: Providing detailed descriptions of the contexts within which the research was conducted not only helps others understand how the findings might apply to similar urban settings but also demonstrates the research's adaptability and usefulness. Using thick descriptions and contextually rich data ensures that the insights gleaned from Zagreb and Rijeka can inform the understanding of urban migration dynamics in other cities.

Dependability: This criterion is a testament to the research process's thoroughness and consistency over time and circumstances. By meticulously documenting the research steps and decisions, this study ensures that another researcher could repeat the work under similar circumstances with similar results. The analysis method is clearly outlined to trace the conclusions back to the original data, instilling confidence in the research's dependability.

Confirmability: Acknowledging that absolute objectivity is unattainable, this research emphasizes reflective practice. The researcher maintains a reflective paper journal that records analytical decisions and interpretation processes to trace the conclusions systematically back to the data.

By applying these criteria, the research not only provides a robust and reliable account of how urban environments like Zagreb and Rijeka engage with and are shaped by the dynamics of migration, but also significantly enhances the scholarly understanding of urban sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality within a global migration context. These findings are crucial for professionals in the field of urban studies and migration dynamics, as they shed light on the complex social phenomena that are at the heart of our research.

3.2 Justification:
Semi-structured interview:

The semi-structured interview is widely recognized as a flexible and insightful research tool within the social sciences. As (Bill, 1973)points out, interviewing is a fundamental method of inquiry across these

disciplines. According to (Magaldi and Berler 2020), the semi-structured interview is primarily exploratory, structured around a guide that focuses discussions on the main topic while providing a general pattern for the conversation. This format allows for depth and discovery, enabling researchers to go deeper into specific areas of interest during the interview process beyond the predefined questions. In the structured interview, a fixed set of questions is used, while the semi-structured interview is flexible. This flexibility allows interviewers to introduce new questions that arise from the interviewees' responses and also encourages them to adapt the conversation dynamically. The role of the interviewer in a semi-structured interview is crucial. (Rubin and Rubin 2005) note that compelling interviews often maintain a balance between predetermined main questions, follow-up questions, and probing questions designed to explore and research deeper. They emphasize that while the interviewer should have a well-prepared framework of themes to explore, the semi-structured nature of these interviews also permits a fluid and responsive interaction tailored to the nuances of the conversation as it unfolds. In qualitative research, a thematic or topic-centered approach—often utilized in biographical or narrative studies—allows the researcher to explore themes or topics without adhering to a rigid sequence of questions. This flexibility is a hallmark of qualitative interviews, designed to permit a fluid and adaptable discussion format. Such an approach enables researchers and interviewees to organically develop and delve into themes that may emerge unexpectedly during the interviews, enriching the research process with their unpredictability. This method is particularly effective for exploring in-depth personal histories or complex topics where the interviewee's experiences and perspectives drive the conversation, revealing insights that predefined questions might not uncover.

Sampling Strategy:

The sampling strategies are important for drawing inferences about a larger population based on a smaller sample. The effectiveness of these inferences depends on how well the sample represents the population of interest. For this thesis, purposive sampling was employed to select participants who, with their unique insights, provided a deeper understanding of the dynamics of urban sanctuary, migrant solidarity, and hospitality within Zagreb and Rijeka.

Purposive sampling is used to select individuals who can offer in-depth knowledge relevant to the research questions. This thesis focuses on stakeholders, such as NGO representatives, local government officials, and the primary beneficiaries of these initiatives. These participants, chosen for their potential to shed light on the interplay between urban policies, civil society initiatives, and migrant experiences in these two cities, play a crucial role in the research.

Given the crucial comparative nature of the research, it was essential to choose participants from both Zagreb and Rijeka who could reflect on their experiences with urban migration support structures. This included individuals directly involved in providing services and support to migrants, such as workers at migrant centers and community organizers.

Notably, the thesis recognizes a gap in the existing research approach—the voices of migrants themselves-crucial for a comprehensive understanding of the migration dynamics within these cities. However, as limited time and pages in this research, it was decided to focus only on institutional solidarity processes.

Presentation of the sample represents:

In an in-depth exploration of migration dynamics within Croatia, I had the opportunity to speak with Ivan Piteša, the Head of Office for the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Zagreb. This semi-structured interview, conducted on March 12th, provided valuable insights into the strategic approaches Croatia is employing to manage and integrate migrants effectively. During our conversation, Mr. Piteša shed light on the challenges and opportunities that Croatia faces in its efforts to foster a diverse and economically vibrant society. Through his expert lens, we discuss the role of policy, community involvement, and the broader implications of migration trends in both urban and rural settings across Croatia. This dialogue is instrumental in understanding the multifaceted aspects of migration management and the critical role of language and cultural integration in building a cohesive society.

On March 14th, a semi-structured interview was conducted in Zagreb with Jana Radić, the Head of the Department for the Promotion of Human Rights and Civil Society. The discussion delved into the critical issues and initiatives related to the integration of migrants into Croatian/Zagreb society, highlighting the role of governmental and non-governmental organizations in fostering an inclusive environment. This interview aimed to shed light on the ongoing efforts and challenges in promoting human rights and enhancing the participation of civil society in these processes. The insights provided by Ms. Radić are instrumental in understanding the dynamic interplay between policy-making and grassroots activism within Zagreb's urban landscape, offering a deeper look into the city's commitment to creating a supportive and welcoming space for all its residents.

On March 15th, a semi-structured interview was conducted with Lucija Mulalić from the Center for Peaceful Studies in Zagreb, Croatia. This interview aimed to delve into the various aspects of support, integration, and the challenges migrants face in the city, providing insights into grassroots and institutional efforts to foster an environment of inclusion and support. Lucija Mulalić, an active advocate, shared her extensive knowledge and experience regarding the initiatives the Center for Peaceful Studies and other organizations undertake. The conversation delved into the practical implementations of solidarity, the systemic obstacles encountered, and the transformative potential of community-driven initiatives in enhancing the lives of migrants. The insights from this interview are intended to contribute to the broader understanding of the dynamics of migrant solidarity in Zagreb, highlighting effective practices, ongoing challenges, and the future directions necessary for creating a more welcoming and inclusive urban space for migrants.

The following is an introduction to a semi-structured interview conducted with Meri Muše, a lawyer working for the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) in Croatia. This interview took place on the 13th of March in Zagreb, Croatia. It focused on the experiences and challenges faced by migrants in the region and the various initiatives undertaken by JRS to aid their integration and support. JRS Croatia is part of an international network providing critical assistance to refugees and displaced persons, advocating for their rights and well-being across various national and international platforms. Given the complex dynamics of migration in Croatia, especially in the context of its socio-economic and legal landscape, the interview aimed to delve into specific programs and responses related to the integration of migrants, including those granted international protection and temporary protection, such as many Ukrainian refugees currently residing in Croatia.

On March 22nd, 2024, a semi-structured interview was conducted with Damir Selimović from Caritas of the Rijeka Archdiocese, Croatia. He is a recognized active in humanitarian outreach, shared his in-depth knowledge and experiences regarding the initiatives Caritas and other related organizations have

implemented. Selimović is one of the founders and organizers of the Rijeka migrant transit hub, a pivotal structure in the city's response to migrant needs. The conversation covered the practical aspects of hospitality, the challenges faced in the system, and most importantly, the immense potential for community-led initiatives to significantly improve the lives of migrants on their way. The insights from this interview aim to enrich the broader understanding of the dynamics of migrant hospitality in Rijeka, underscoring effective practices, persistent challenges, and necessary future directions to forge a more inclusive urban setting for migrants.

Transcription Process:

The interviews were recorded using a smartphone to ensure that all statements made by the interviewees were accurately captured. The initial transcription process involved converting the spoken words, which were in Croatian, directly into written text. After completing the initial transcriptions, I undertook the task of translating these texts into English. During this translation process, care was taken to omit slang expressions, repetitive phrases, and off-topic remarks while prioritizing the preservation of the original communication's precise meaning. The potential for specific nuances of Croatian terminology to be lost in translation was acknowledged, highlighting the challenge of maintaining the integrity of the original expressions when translating into English.

Ethics:

Ethical considerations are paramount in research, particularly when it involves human subjects, as underscored by Bryman. These considerations are essential to ensure the respectful treatment of participants and equip researchers to address unexpected ethical challenges effectively. In this study, which involves interviews with institutional representatives in Zagreb and Rijeka, upholding ethical standards is crucial to mitigate potential risks and safeguard participant welfare.

Before the interviews, a thorough briefing was provided to inform participants about the study's objectives and their role within it. This briefing was integral to obtaining informed consent, ensuring that participants were fully aware of their rights and the extent of their involvement. The consent process was meticulously designed to address and alleviate concerns regarding privacy, confidentiality, and potential harm. Participants provided verbal consent, affirming their voluntary engagement in the study and their freedom to withdraw at any point without any repercussions.

This ethical framework demonstrates a commitment to maintaining the dignity and rights of all participants, which is in line with the ethical guidelines recommended by Bryman (2016). By adhering to these high ethical standards, the study lays a solid foundation for trustworthy and respectful interactions with participants, ensuring integrity throughout the research process.

3.3 Limitations:

The choice of interviewees focused on those actors most visible and active in the discourse on migration, based on prior research and their prevalence in media discussions related to migration issues. Despite multiple attempts to engage with various institutions and NGOs in Rijeka, the response rate was lower than anticipated. The lack of response from many organizations has significantly limited the diversity and number of perspectives in the city. This has potentially constrained the depth of insight into the specific context of Rijeka compared to Zagreb, where the response was adequate. Although efforts to include significant stakeholders such as the UNHCR in Zagreb, logistical constraints on their part meant that they

could not participate in interviews. They did, however, maintain communication, which provided some insights. The absence of a formal interview meant that direct, in-depth data from this key player in migration topics could not be integrated into the analysis.

Chapter 4: Contextual Background

4.1 Croatian role in the EU migration route

Let us look at Croatia from a historical lens in the context of migration. Croatia is a country of emigration more than immigration, except for the period after World War II and the Homeland War. This is evidenced by the fact that, from 1900 to 2001, about 2.3 million people emigrated from the territory of today's Republic of Croatia. (Nejašmić, 2014) Although emigration has been relatively continuous throughout Croatian history, the most significant periods of documented immigration certainly relate to the 1990s and the great refugee crisis. At the beginning of the nineties, Croatia experienced a specific development stage marked by war, transitional difficulties and unfavourable demographic trends. Although migration losses as a result of the war are estimated at over 500,000, around 200,000 inhabitants, mainly from Bosnia and Herzegovina, immigrated to the Republic of Croatia's territory between 1991 and 2001. (Nejašmić, 2014) The care system for exiles and refugees was introduced in the 1990s. It had four legal-status categories of migrants: exiles, returnees, refugees and refugees in transit. (Esterajher, 2015) From the 1990s to 2021, the Republic of Croatia's immigration policies were characterized by a restrictive approach, with an emphasis on policies of the return of the Croatian diaspora and a simultaneous neglect of integration policies. (Baričević & Koska, 2017) Croatia signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement in 2001 as a prerequisite for membership in the European Union, refugee protection policies began to develop systematically. The first Asylum Act was adopted in 2003 and came into force in July 2004. Although Croatia adopted most of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) measures and met the criteria for membership in the European Union, the problem remains in their application, especially when we talk about policies and refugee integration practices. This is supported by the fact that around 80% of asylum seekers still always leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia before the end of the process. Croatia remains primarily a transit country for asylum seekers and refugees. (Baričević & Koska, 2017) From 2006, since the first asylum was granted, until the end of 2018, international protection was recognized in Croatia for 750 persons. (Lalić Novak and Giljević 2019b) Most of Europe, including Croatia, was marked by the refugee and migrant crisis in 2015 and 2016. In the beginning, it was experienced in Croatia in a way similar to the crisis of the early 1990s, and the emphasis was on the humanitarian aspect and empathy of citizens and representatives of public authorities. However, numerous legal-status, organizational, financial, health, domestic and foreign policy and security issues occurred over time. Unlike the war-refugee crisis of the 1990s, the recent refugee crisis had much larger global dimensions. The countries from which refugees and migrants arrive are significantly more numerous, the crisis is longer lasting, there are more significant linguistic, cultural and religious differences between immigrants and the resident population, and the receiving countries, with a constant influx of refugees and migrants, are going through years of recession and slow growth. (Esterajher, 2015) IOM documented the most significant inflow in 2015 and 2016 when the number of immigrants to the Republic of Croatia's territory reached over 10,000 people daily.

On September 15, 2015, Hungary instituted a closure of its borders with Serbia to refugees. This event can be characterized as a dramatic border closure within the immediate vicinity of the Balkans. This event, reminiscent of the scenes witnessed during the crossing of the Aegean Sea and reported through media coverage of border crossings in Macedonia, Serbia, and Hungary during that summer, catalyzed a massive

diversion of transcontinental migration flows. Consequently, Serbia to Croatia became a redirected pathway in September, bifurcating towards Croatian-Hungarian and Croatian-Slovenian borders. This migration dynamic was, at the time, underscored by various states of emergency declared.

Scenes of several hundred, sometimes even over a thousand, individuals being halted were directly observable at the Croatian-Slovenian border. Simultaneously, a significant deployment of police forces was noted, alongside the mobilization of communal services and the activation of local solidarity networks. A makeshift encampment emerged at the Bregana/Obrežje border crossing, situated in proximity to the official entrance into Slovenia. This encampment featured tents, temporary stands, mobile sanitation facilities, additional fencing, and distribution points for food and clothing. (Dalmacija 2015)

Media reports from those days also highlight distressing incidents at the nearby Croatian-Slovenian border crossing of Harmica/Rigonce. In one instance, a man reportedly "fainted from fatigue and dehydration." At the same time, another individual "climbed the railing of the bridge and threatened to throw himself into the river Sutla" as an expression of despair over the uncertain and untenable situation he faced. Amidst demands from refugees for the opening of the borders and their blockade of the Bregana route, law enforcement response escalated. Police units, including canine squads and emergency response teams, were deployed, helicopters surveilled the area, and tear gas was utilized in crowd control efforts.

This period represents a critical juncture in the European migration crisis, illustrating the acute challenges faced by both migrants and host nations at the borders. The responses, ranging from state-imposed border closures to grassroots solidarity movements, underscore the complex interplay between national security imperatives and humanitarian considerations that characterize the ongoing discourse on migration within the European Union.

The entry and exit of refugees from the country in the first days after the aforementioned closure of the Hungarian-Serbian border in September 2015 took place at different points. After entering the territory outside the regular border regime, which also meant mass entry outside the border crossings or regular controls and procedures at the crossing itself, the majority of people were taken by trains and buses accompanied by the police to existing and ad hoc reception facilities, for example, the ones mentioned here Ježevo, Zagreb, Sisak, Čepin, Luč near Beli Manastir. From there, they went on, organized or independently, to different points on the Hungarian border, but also to Slovenia, to the crossings near Harmica and Bregana, where they were temporarily stopped at the external border of Europe(Schengen) they wanted to reach. (Mup 2015)

From October 16 to 17, Hungary closed its borders to refugees from the Croatian side; the mass movement of refugees was direct towards Slovenia, remaining, however, still dispersed, even unpredictable and public-hidden, state-managed, police-controlled and directed. At first, as reported on the official website of the Ministry of the Interior, the refugees are taken to the Macelj/Gruškovje and Mursko Središće/Petišovci border crossings and the Bregana/Obrežje and Trnovec/Središče on Drava border crossings, but also to other places that are not mentioned in the official public reports. (Bužinkić & Hameršak, pg.17, 2017) Under this section is a graph by Frontex that includes the Western Balkan route and several irregular migration crossings. As is visible, 2015 was the most active year, so the focus is mainly on this year in the contextual background description.

Figure 5-Irregular migrant crossings in WB
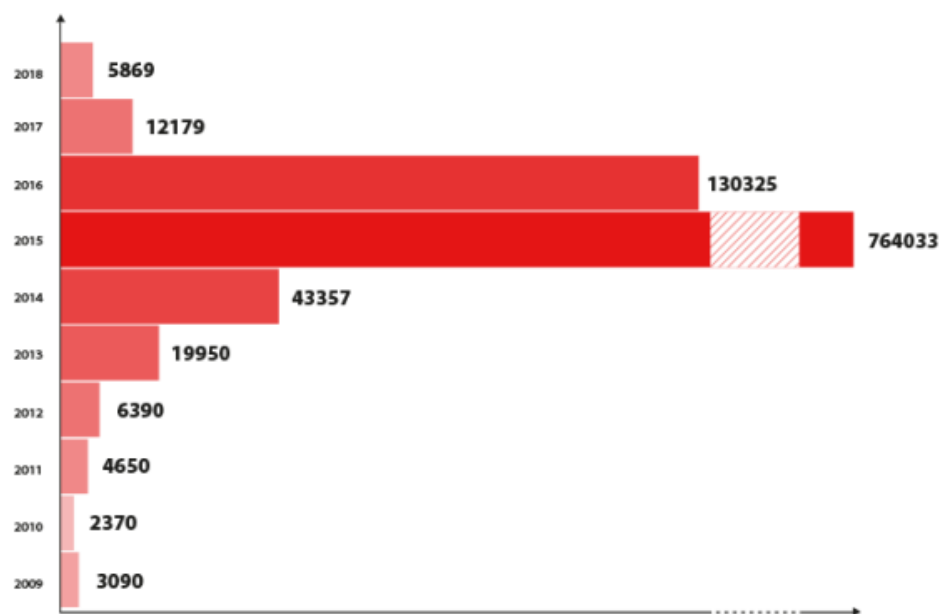

(Frontex, 2018)

Figure 6-Balkan route

(DW, 2019)

The figure presented above is a geographical showcase of the Balkan route. The blue line is the current route, the rest of the colors are alternative routes, and the black lines are closed borders. Route data was relevant for February 2016.

On February 24, 2016, police chiefs from nations along the Balkan migration route collectively ratified the 'Managing Migration Together' Declaration, precipitating this pathway's effective 'closure' in March 2016. Criticized for potentially violating international refugee law and human rights standards (Oruc, Raza, and Santic 2017), the Declaration sought to unify registration protocols and enforce stringent entry prerequisites, introducing quotas initiated by Austria followed by other route countries. Concurrently, the EU-Turkey Statement in March 2016 markedly diminished the influx of migrants via the Balkans into the EU. Nonetheless, the border closures led to a surge in human smuggling activities, spotlighting governance challenges and eliciting numerous human rights concerns. (Oruc et al. 2017) Consequently, the Western Balkans (WB) region became an interim zone, sandwiched between Greece and Bulgaria on one flank and Hungary and Croatia—both of which had fully sealed their borders—on the other, all being EU Member States.

The migration patterns along the Balkan route were further influenced by the Balkans' relatively volatile political landscape, fluctuating conditions in migrants' countries of origin, and the rise and fall of alternative pathways. Post-March 2016, migrants' reliance on human smugglers intensified, engendering new informal mobility geographies and maintaining the Balkan Route's use (Minca et al., 2019). Adapting to these evolving dynamics, migrants frequently altered their trajectories, initially traversing Bulgaria and Romania, then pivoting towards Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina by 2018. This shift in route still affected Croatia (see figure below). Estimates from the second quarter of 2018 indicated that approximately 8,500 individuals were housed in reception centres, unofficial shelters, or externally throughout the WB countries. The proportion of children among the migrant population oscillated between 19% and 32%, with the percentage of unaccompanied minors among them varying across countries—from 8% in North Macedonia to 52% in Serbia. Predominantly, these unaccompanied minors were boys originating from Afghanistan and Pakistan. (Save the Chilren 2018)

Figure 7- Bosnia and Herzegovina entry/exit points
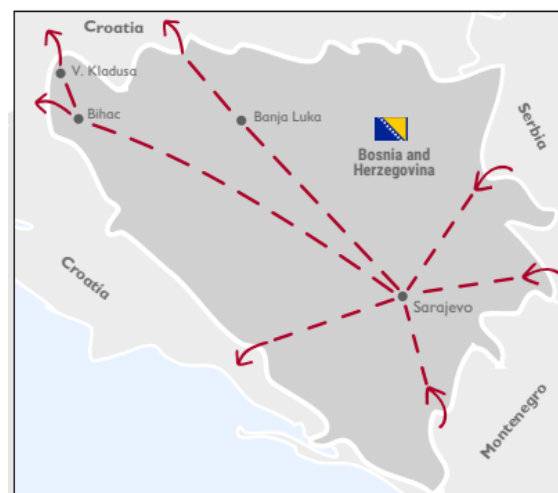
The response to the national crisis encompassed immediate support and additional aid from governmental and civil society organizations alongside religious, humanitarian groups, and emerging solidarity efforts. In the beginning, this humanitarian response was predominant; the gradual closure of the Balkan route brought advanced radicalization and securitization and a 'securitization discomfort' among pro-refugee actors. The term "securitization discomfort" was described by (Županić-Iljić and Valenta 2019) as an organizational discomfort and disagreement among non-state actors by the shift of the Croatian government's policy towards a securitization strategy, whereby the refugees' benefits, rights and needs are being neglected.

The Croatian Ministry of Interior reports indicate that approximately 77% of asylum applications were terminated due to the departure of applicants from Croatia. This underscores Croatia's role, akin to other Western Balkan countries, as predominantly a transit nation for migrants. (HINA 2017)

Figure 8-Key mixed migration statistics for Croatia

Year	Irregular border crossings	People residing at immigration centres	Asylum applications	Number of approved asylum applications
2014	3,914	434	1,008	16
2015	559,510	283	261	36
2016	102,307	584	2,234	83
2017	4,808	645	1,887	185

(Croatian Ministry of Interior, 2018)

In 2017, the ramifications of the substantial refugee influx from 2015 to 2016 persisted, albeit with a modest decrement in the number of international protection applications relative to the previous year. During the period, they witnessed an increase in the number of individuals seeking international protection who were repatriated to Croatia, which aligned with the Dublin Regulation. This regulation stipulates that the initial EU Member State entered by the claimant for international protection bears the responsibility for evaluating the application. Concurrently, Croatia adhered to its obligations under the resettlement and relocation programs, facilitating the resettlement of refugees from Italy, Greece, and Turkey and promoting their incremental assimilation into Croatian society. Furthermore, the year 2017 was characterized by the implementation of a more rigorous border control protocol on the Croatian-Serbian frontier, accompanied by declarations from civil society organizations regarding the obstruction of refugees' access to the territory of the Republic of Croatia and its asylum adjudication system. (Hrvatski pravni centar 2017) The Government of the Republic of Croatia has decided to effectively resettle 150 Syrian refugees from Turkey by 8th of December 2017, as such joining a growing group of newly emerging resettlement states, with it's First Resettlement Programme. (IOM 2018)

Figure 9-Irregular Mmigration statistics for Croatia

IRREGULAR MIGRATION

SOURCE: Eurostat (migr_eirfs, migr_eipre, migr_eiord, migr_eirtn)

Refused entry at ext. borders				Found to be illegally present				Ordered to Leave (OTL)				Returned following an OTL			
9 135	10 015	13 240	13 025	3 320	3 495	5 580	13 630	4 730	4 400	6 350	15 510	1 890	2 125	2 210	2 455
2016	2017	2018	2019	2016	2017	2018	2019	2016	2017	2018	2019	2016	2017	2018	2019
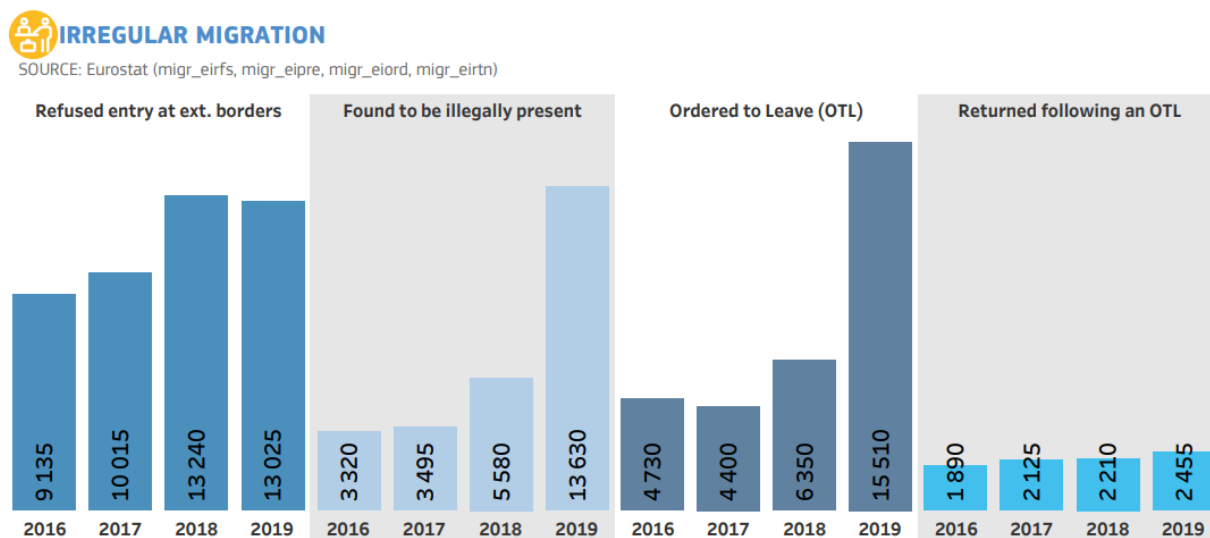
(Eurostat, 2020)

Since late 2017, Croatia's border policy has been scrutinized, with numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international entities, and other stakeholders raising concerns regarding the conduct of Croatian border guards. The Croatian Government has increasingly framed migration as a security concern within the national context.

After the official closure of the "Balkan route," migrants arriving in Greece and Bulgaria continued their attempts to traverse the WB countries to reach northern and western Europe. In 2018, Serbia witnessed the entry of over 30,000 migrants, with approximately 6,000 of them remaining in the country by year-end. Following Hungary's construction of a border fence and establishing "transit zones," which significantly hindered the possibility of legal border crossings and asylum claims in the European Union for those in Serbia, many migrants redirected their routes through Croatia as an alternative pathway.

In response to the "Balkan route" closure, Croatian authorities have escalated their border surveillance efforts and consistently engaged in the pushback of migrants into Serbia. The journey has become perilously risky, as tragically illustrated by the case of Madina Hussiny.

In November 2017, the six-year-old lost her life after being struck by a train, a horrific event that occurred after Croatian border guards allegedly directed her family to walk along the railway tracks leading back to Serbia, based on the family's account. Madina and her relatives had spent nearly a year in Serbia, futilely hoping for a secure route into Hungary. Madina's mother reported that the border guards denied any help, even as she cradled her daughter's deceased body, and instead compelled the family to return to Serbia. Médecins Sans Frontières has documented instances of other migrants being forced onto the same perilous railway tracks by Croatian border personnel.

Madina's death underscores the growing fatalities among migrants attempting to irregularly cross into Croatia, highlighting the dire consequences of the absence of safe and legal avenues for seeking protection within EU Member States for individuals situated in Serbia or elsewhere in the Western Balkans. (Moschopoulos 2019)

With the tightening of border controls by Hungary and Croatia along their frontiers with Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina witnessed a sharp escalation in migrant arrivals in 2018. The country saw over 22,000 individuals entering its territory that year, a significant surge from the mere 1,166 recorded in 2017. By the end of 2018, it was estimated that between 5,000 and 6,000 migrants had remained within Bosnia and Herzegovina, predominantly within the northwestern Una-Sana canton adjacent to Croatia. In the border town of Bihać, which continued to accommodate most of these migrants and Velika Kladuša, local communities have extended their support to those passing through, demonstrating solidarity by providing food, relief supplies, and additional assistance throughout the year. (Moschopoulos 2019)

In December 2018, Border Violence Monitoring, an organization dedicated to overseeing civil rights, released multiple videos purportedly showcasing illicit pushbacks along the border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Croatian government refuted these claims, arguing that the border patrols were conducting their duties in legal protection of the EU's frontiers and suggested that migrants might be fabricating allegations of violence to bolster their asylum applications. Nevertheless, there exists convincing evidence indicating that numerous migrants who have failed to secure entry into Croatia exhibit physical injuries, damaged mobile phones, and other indicators of having been subjected to violent encounters during their attempts to cross the border. (Vladisavljevic 2018)

This situation raises significant concerns regarding adherence to the rule of law and the role of civil society in Croatia. In October 2018, the nation's Ombudsperson reported that the Ministry of the Interior had consistently denied her access to databases, recordings, and documents crucial for probing into claimed rights infringements by border officials. Additionally, civil society groups offering aid to migrants upon their arrival have encountered physical assaults, allegations of illegal activities from political figures, and legal actions. Notably, a volunteer from a non-governmental organization was found guilty under a statute that forbids aiding irregular migrants following their involvement in documenting an encounter between police officers and the family of Madina Hussiny. (Are You Syrious? 2018)

Numerous human rights organizations and NGOs have reported that Croatia persisted with its pushback policy in 2019. Headlines like "Croatia Is Abusing Migrants While the EU Turns a Blind Eye" were commonplace in media coverage and organizational reports regarding the situation at the Croatian border. Former Croatian President Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović expressed support for such measures in an interview with Schweizer Radio und Fernsehen, a Swiss broadcaster, stating that "a little bit of force is necessary for pushbacks." (HRW 2019)

Additionally, there is a case to be made that the European Union is indirectly endorsing and compensating the use of force by a member state to safeguard its extensive land frontier. In December 2018, the European Commission disclosed its decision to allocate 6.8 million euros to Croatia for "enhancing border surveillance and law enforcement capabilities," which includes implementing a "monitoring mechanism" to ensure that border interventions remain "proportionate and fully compliant with fundamental rights and EU asylum regulations." (Connelly 2019) The figure below shows Bosnia and Herzegovina's key migrant sites and the EU's external border (Croatia).

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Map of key migrant sites and locations
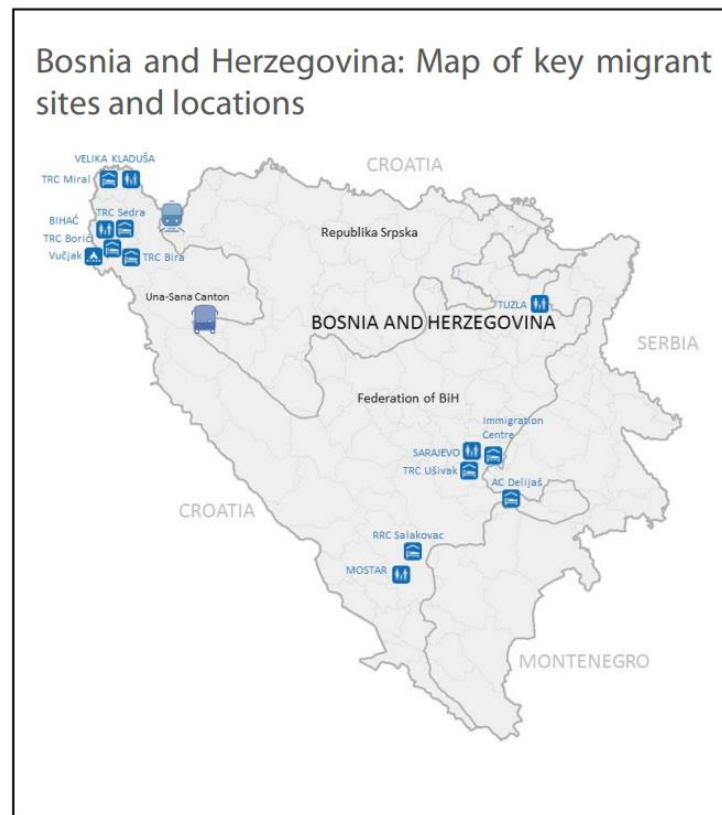
(UNHCR, 2020)

In 2019, the number of illegal state border crossings increased 147.1% compared to 2018, amounting to 20,278 irregular border crossings. The Croatian police accept mostly third-country nationals. The top five countries of origin for third-country nationals are Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. The most significant increase was recorded among Iraqi citizens. (gov.hr 2019)

The situation continued in the same manner until 2021 when Croatia changed its approach to migration. The country turned to employing foreigners, and the government abolished quotas for foreign workers. (Zakon.hr 2023) With this new law, Croatia is no longer "merely" a transit country for some more developed European countries but places itself on a map of labour migration.

The figure in this paragraph shows the number of issued residence permits from Croatia to citizens outside the EU. The Republic of Croatia in 2021, according to EUROSTAT data, approved 33,580 first permits of residence, of which almost 89.5% were for work (or 30,056 first-issued permits). Residence permits issued for family reasons accounted for 8.47% (2847) of the total issued absolute residence permits in the Republic of Croatia, from education reasons 0.72% (244), while other reasons, including international protection, accounted for 1.28% (433). Prior 2021, it is visible that the highest number of immigrants to Croatia is from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, and North Macedonia, which are all ex. Yugoslavia countries. (EMN 2022)

Figure 11-Nationalities of residence permits

Top 5 nationalities of number of first residence permits annually issued: number of permits and % of total annual permits

SOURCE: Eurostat (migr_resfirst)

2015
- Bosnia and Herzegovina 866 (25.2%)
- Serbia 446 (13.0%)
- United States 251 (7.3%)
- North Macedonia 234 (6.8%)
- Russia 219 (6.4%)

2016
- Bosnia and Herzegovina 2 382 (44.9%)
- Serbia 678 (12.8%)
- Ukraine 294 (5.5%)
- United States 254 (4.8%)
- North Macedonia 249 (4.7%)

2017
- Bosnia and Herzegovina 5 526 (56.8%)
- Serbia 1 031 (10.6%)
- Ukraine 463 (4.8%)
- United States 413 (4.2%)
- Kosovo 339 (3.5%)

2018
- Bosnia and Herzegovina 12 996 (49.4%)
- Serbia 4 910 (18.7%)
- Kosovo 2 065 (7.9%)
- North Macedonia 2 050 (7.8%)
- Albania 1 088 (4.1%)

(Eurostat, 2019)

The Ministry of the Interior's website regularly updates statistics regarding applicants and recipients of international protection, providing detailed breakdowns by nationality and gender for the year spanning January 1 to December 31, 2021. In that year, Croatia recorded a total of 3,039 applications for international

protection. The data reveal that the most common nationalities among these applicants were from Afghanistan (1,849), followed by Turkey (246), Iraq (225), Iran (190), and Pakistan (106). This represents a significant increase of 57.3% in the number of applicants for international protection compared to the previous year, alongside notable shifts in the countries of origin of these applicants.

The trend of rising number of Afghan applicants, first observed in 2020, persisted into 2021. Remarkably, the number of applicants from Turkey more than doubled, making it the second most frequent country of origin after Afghanistan. Conversely, the number of Iraqi applicants halved, whereas Iranian applicants saw their numbers double compared to 2020. During this period, a total of 68 applications for international protection were submitted, with all 68 applicants being granted asylum status. (EMN 2022)

Figure 12-Total precentage of nationalities

Ukupno
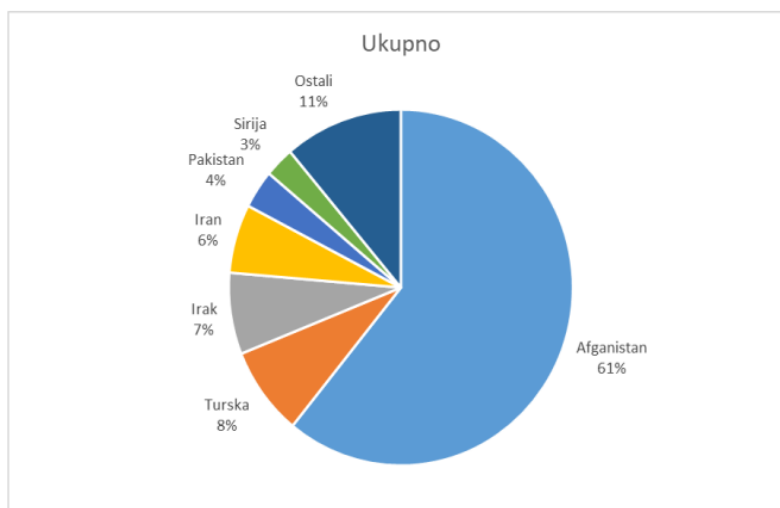
(Ministry of interior, 2022)

In 2021, border enforcement authorities documented 17,404 actions against individuals discovered to illegally cross national boundaries, marking a 40.2% reduction from the figures reported in 2020. In 2021, Afghan nationals constituted the most significant group caught illicitly crossing the state border, with 4,824 incidents accounting for 28% of all illegal crossings. This figure represents a 43.3% decline from the 8,505 illegal crossings by Afghan citizens recorded in 2020. Following Afghans, the next most numerous were Pakistani citizens, with 3,278 instances of illegal border crossings, indicating a 44.7% decrease from the 5,923 reported in 2020. Turkish nationals ranked third, with 2,446 crossings, marking a significant increase of 148.6% compared to the 984 incidents in 2020. This data underscores the changing dynamics and nationalities of individuals involved in illegal state border crossings between 2020 and 2021. (EMN 2022)

Figure 13-Irregular border crossings

Nezakoniti prelasci državne granice - top 10 državljanstava I.-XII.2021.
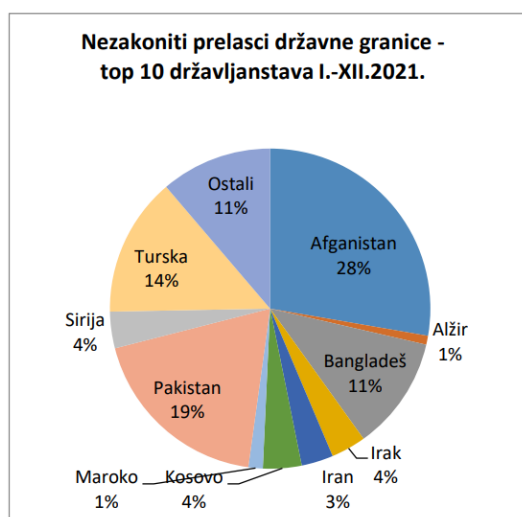
(Ministry of interior, 2022)

The situation with pushbacks continued on the Croatian border; the Danish Refugee Council published a report with numbers for 2021, being the first report with numbers and statistics of people experiencing issues on the Croatian border.

Figure 14-Protecting rights at borders 2021

(DRC, 2021)

In March 2022, the Croatian government implemented the Decision on Temporary Protection for individuals displaced from Ukraine in alignment with Council Implementing Decision (EU) 2022/382. This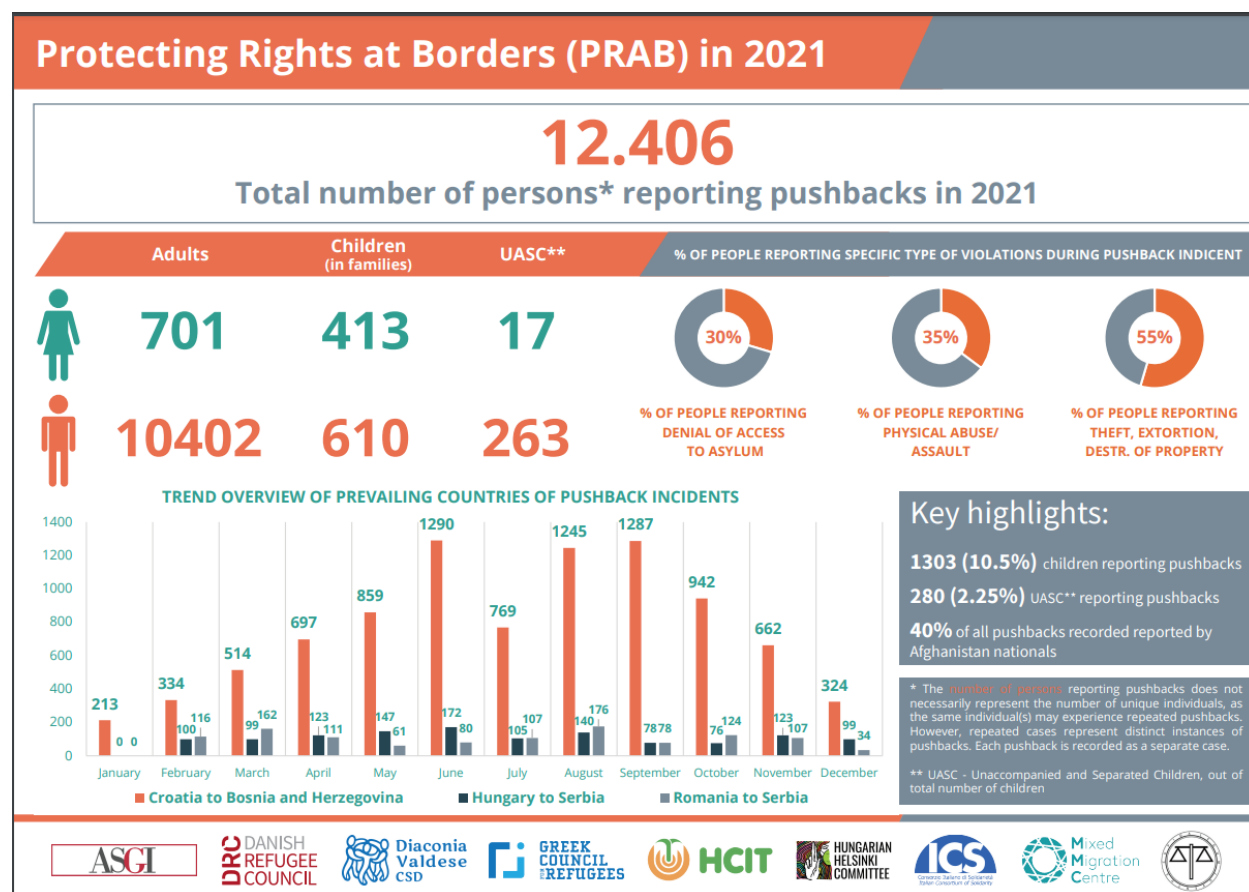 directive, integrated into national law, is now actively applied. An Interdepartmental Working Group, spearheaded by the Ministry of the Interior, was established to oversee the coordination of all matters pertaining to Ukrainian displaced persons. On March 20, 2022, the Ministry launched a bilingual portal providing daily updates for displaced Ukrainians and resources for Croatian citizens eager to extend support to the refugees. On March 23, 2022, a policy was enacted to fund the housing expenses for displaced Ukrainians residing in private accommodations, compensating property owners for using their spaces. Between February 25 and December 31, 2022, Croatia welcomed 22,407 Ukrainian nationals, comprising 11,162 (49.8%) women, 3,802 (16.9%) men, and 7,443 (33.3%) children. From February 25, 2022, the Directorate of Civil Protection utilized 46 sites to provide for displaced individuals, including one laundry service and one transportation firm. Of these, 22 facilities were deployed (three for initial reception and 19 for collective housing), with individuals placed in 24 additional sites through public procurement processes for collective accommodation. (Eurostat 2023)

Figure 15-Asylum applicants

Asylum applicants (third-country nationals), by type of application, 2019–2022
Absolute number (and the number per 1 000 people)
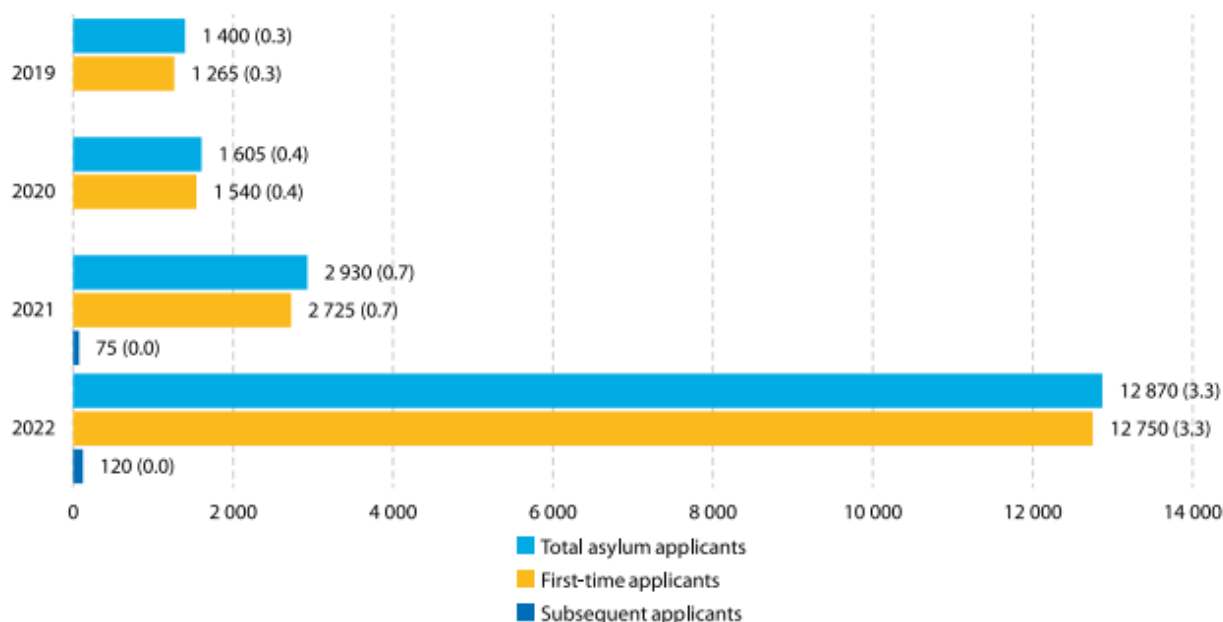
Source: Eurostat (migr_asyappctza and migr_pop1ctz)

(Eurostat, 2023)

On December 8, 2022, the Council of the European Union (EU) approved a decision to fully integrate Croatia into the Schengen Area, allowing the country to implement the Schengen acquis. Starting from January 1, 2023, Croatia removed controls at its internal land and sea borders with other Schengen states, suspending internal air border checks following March 26, 2023. Concurrently, in December 2022, the Croatian parliament enacted the Act on Amendments to the Aliens Act and the Act on Amendments to the State Border Control Act. These legislative modifications were crucial in facilitating Croatia's complete adherence to the Schengen acquis, explicitly addressing the management of external borders and defining the responsibilities of the border police operating within the country's interior. (Eurostat 2023)

In 2022, there were documented instances of pushbacks and the use of force by police at the border. The DRC reported that 3,461 individuals were forcibly returned from Croatia to Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). (DRC 2023) At the same time, the UNHCR noted that an additional 289 individuals were pushed back from Croatia to Serbia within the same year. (UNHCR 2023) Furthermore, the Ombudsperson for Children highlighted that, based on information from the Border Violence Monitoring Network, at least 120 children were among those pushed back in 2022.

In 2022, the renovation of the Kutina Reception Centre, designated for individuals seeking international protection, was finalized, enhancing its capacity to host up to 140 applicants. (Ministry of Interior 2022)

Figure 16-Immigration law enforcement

Third-country nationals subject to immigration law enforcement, 2019–2022
Absolute number (and the number per 1 000 people)

Persons refused entry	2019	13 025 (3.2)
	2020	14 710 (3.6)
	2021	14 190 (3.5)
	2022	11 800 (3.1)
Persons found to be illegally present	2019	13 630 (3.3)
	2020	22 240 (5.5)
	2021	13 540 (3.4)
	2022	43 830 (11.3)
Persons ordered to leave	2019	15 510 (3.8)
	2020	23 135 (5.7)
	2021	15 135 (3.7)
	2022	40 525 (10.5)
Persons returned to a third country	2019	2 390 (0.6)
	2020	1 425 (0.4)
	2021	2 040 (0.5)
	2022	3 665 (0.9)
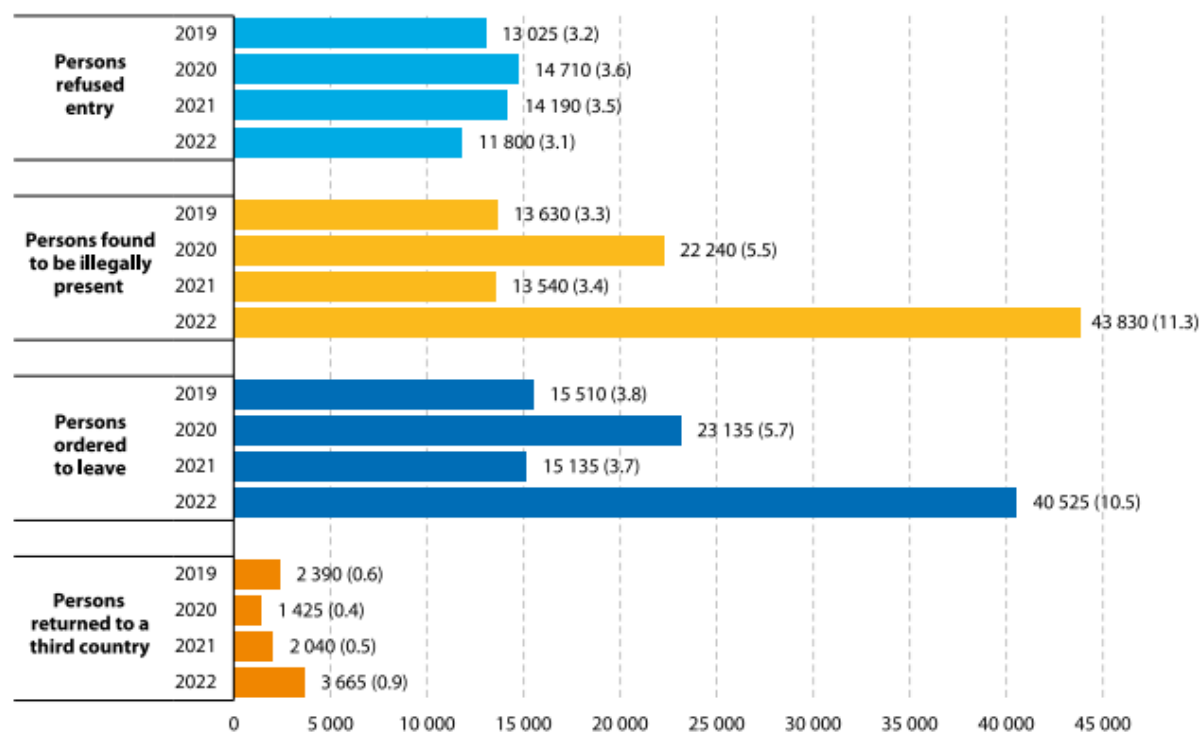
Source: Eurostat (migr_eirfs, migr_eipre, migr_eiord, migr_eirtn and migr_pop1ctz)

(Eurostat, 2023)

On January 17, 2023, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) issued a pivotal judgment, marking the second instance of finding Croatia in breach of refugees and other migrants' human rights. This judgment offered a measure of justice for the three individuals who lost their lives and for Abdejalil Daraibou, who sustained severe injuries while under the custody of Croatian border police, highlighting Croatia's infringement of the fundamental human right to life. Two weeks following this verdict, on January 31, the Centre for Peace Studies, alongside attorney Lidija Horvat, convened a press conference to underline the lack of response from Prime Minister Andrej Plenković and Interior Minister Davor Božinović to this critical judgment. This silence is particularly alarming given the judgment's exposure of a severe, large-scale breach of the right to life, one of the most basic human rights. The subsequent treatment of Abdejalil Daraibou casts further doubt on Croatia's commitment to human rights and dignity. Despite the tragedy, Daraibou's asylum application was only processed after the fatal incident. Furthermore, he did not receive proper medical or psychological care for his injuries or the trauma of witnessing his friends' deaths. His asylum requests were consistently rejected by the Ministry of the Interior (MUP), and he was detained and allegedly subjected to mental and physical abuse by police

officers. Remarkably, two years post-incident and without justification, Croatian authorities labelled him a national security threat, deporting him to Morocco in 2018 and barring his entry into Croatia for five years.

This ruling, akin to the previous verdict in the case of young Madina Hussiny and her family, validates long-standing concerns raised by organizations and institutions: investigations into offences against refugees and other migrants are ineffectual. This reflects a systematic infringement of refugees' and migrants' human rights, indicating a failure of institutions meant to uphold the rule of law and human rights to perform their essential functions. (CMS 2023)

Once again, the DRC published a report about pushbacks on the Croatian border for 2023.

Figure 17-Proctecting rights at border 2023
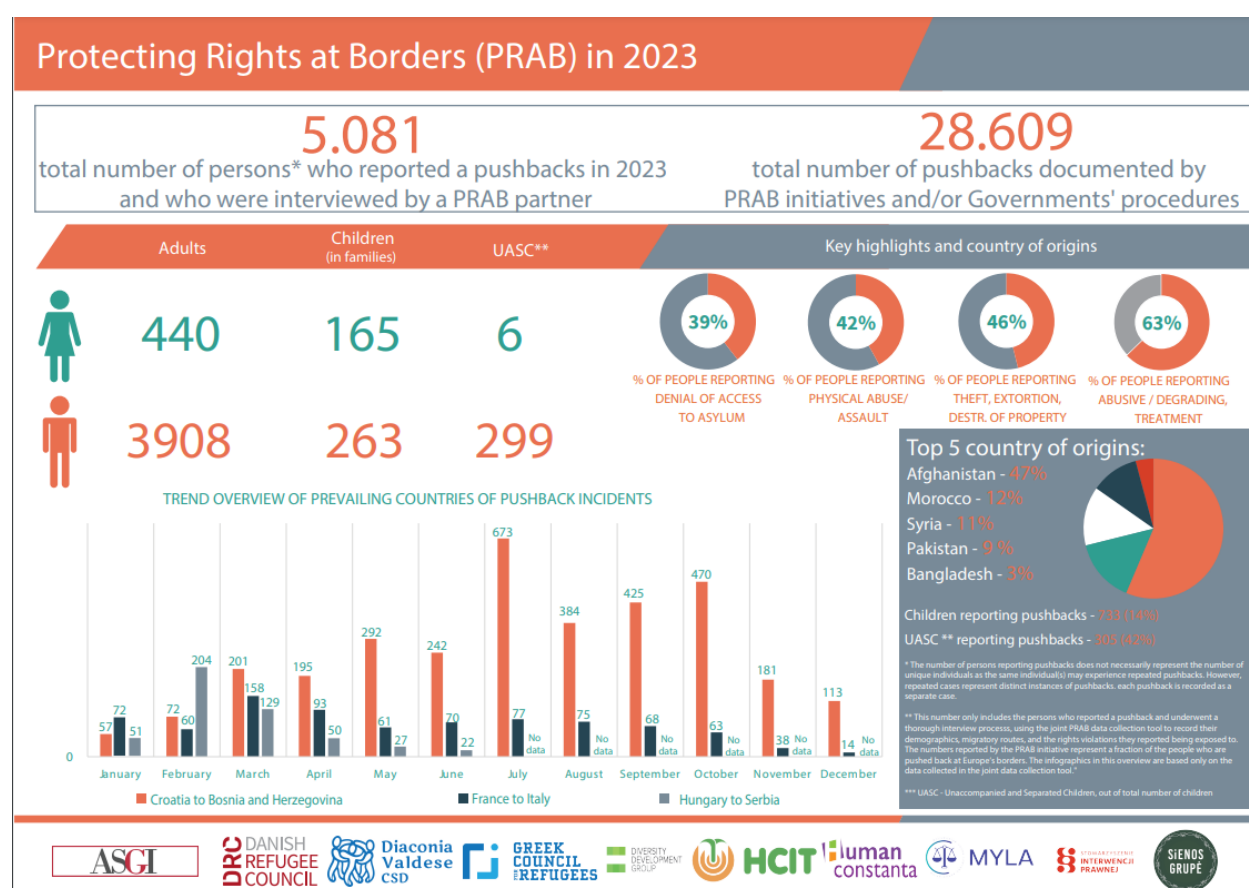
(DRC, 2023)

Comprehensive data will remain incomplete for the year 2023, given that most reports are typically released in June or July of the following year. Consequently, in composing this section of the dissertation, reliance was placed on available data disseminated via newspapers and preliminary reports, which do not encompass the entirety of the data set. It is essential to acknowledge that data slated for future publication may exhibit variances in statistical figures, necessitating a cautious approach to interpreting and applying the currently available information.

The dynamics of unauthorized migration along the Western Balkans route, including the notable numbers of migrants either rebuffed at the Hungarian-Serbian border or entrenched within the "Western Balkan pool" for extended periods, have precipitated an intensification of illegal migration pressure on Croatian frontiers, particularly along its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the initial ten months of 2023, Croatian law enforcement documented 62,452 illicit border crossings into Croatia. This represents a substantial increase of 73.2% over the previous year's corresponding timeframe, during which 36,059 such incidents were logged. The majority of these attempts were made by nationals from Afghanistan (21,195), followed by individuals from Turkey (10,512), Morocco (5,970), Pakistan (5,100), Iraq (3,706), and Bangladesh (2,645). A monthly analysis within this timeframe reveals a progressive escalation in migration pressure through the end of summer. Nonetheless, the subsequent months have shown an overall decline in illegal crossings (with August witnessing a peak increase of 175% compared to the same month in the prior year and a decrease to 72% by November 1, 2023). Additionally, a month-to-month comparison indicates a reduction of 7.96% in August of the current year compared to the same month in the previous year and a notable 45% decrease in October relative to September of the current year. Furthermore, juxtaposing the data for October of the current year with the previous year reveals a 51% decline, underscoring the fluctuating nature of migration patterns over this period. (Croatian Parliament 2023)

Figure 18-Irregular border crossings 2022/2023
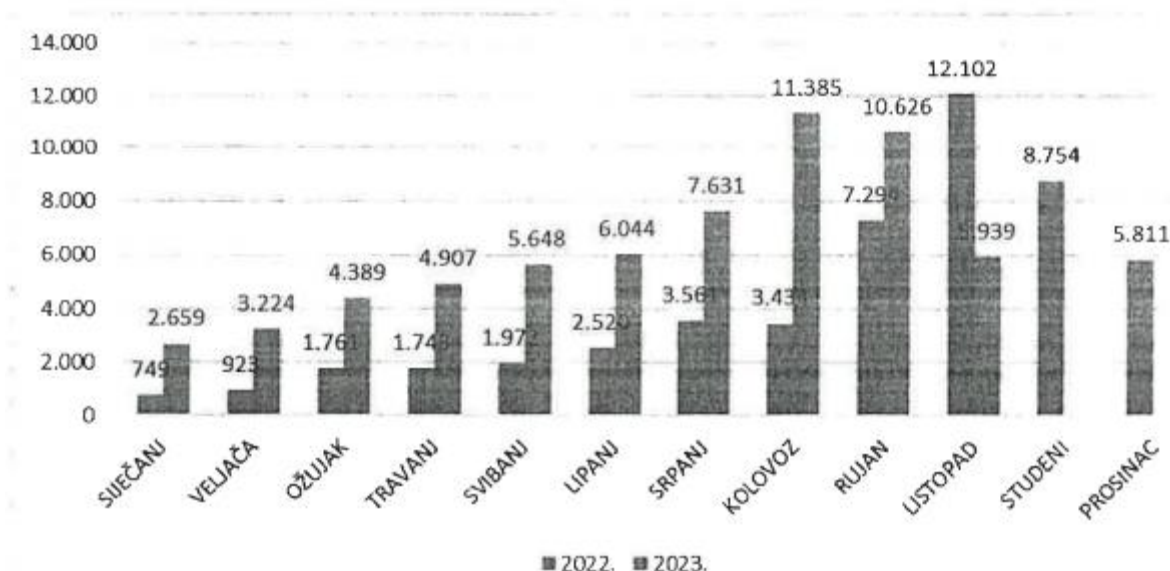
(Croatian Parliament, 2024)

The phenomena of people smuggling and illegal migration are intrinsically interconnected, with the patterns and intensity of migration flows significantly influencing the modalities of smuggling operations and the profiles of those involved in smuggling activities. Since October 31, 2023, the Republic of Croatia has documented 1,016 criminal offences related to illegal entry, transit, and residence (under Article 326 of the Criminal Code). This figure marks a 32.12% increase from the corresponding period in 2022, during which 769 offences were reported. Furthermore, there has been a notable 64.14% surge in identifying

individuals involved in smuggling, with 1,103 culprits identified in 2023 compared to 672 in the previous year.

Additionally, within the same timeframe of 2023, Croatia registered 198 cases of aiding in unlawful entry, a 49% rise from the 133 incidents recorded in the equivalent period of 2022.

The year 2023 has also seen a shift in the demographic composition of those committing smuggling offences, with a higher proportion of foreign nationals implicated in these crimes. The ratio of foreign perpetrators to Croatian nationals involved in smuggling activities has shifted to 70% and 30%, respectively, indicating a decrease in the number of Croatian citizens engaged in such criminal acts. (Croatian Parliament 2023)

Figure 19-Bosnia and Herzegovina smuggling routes
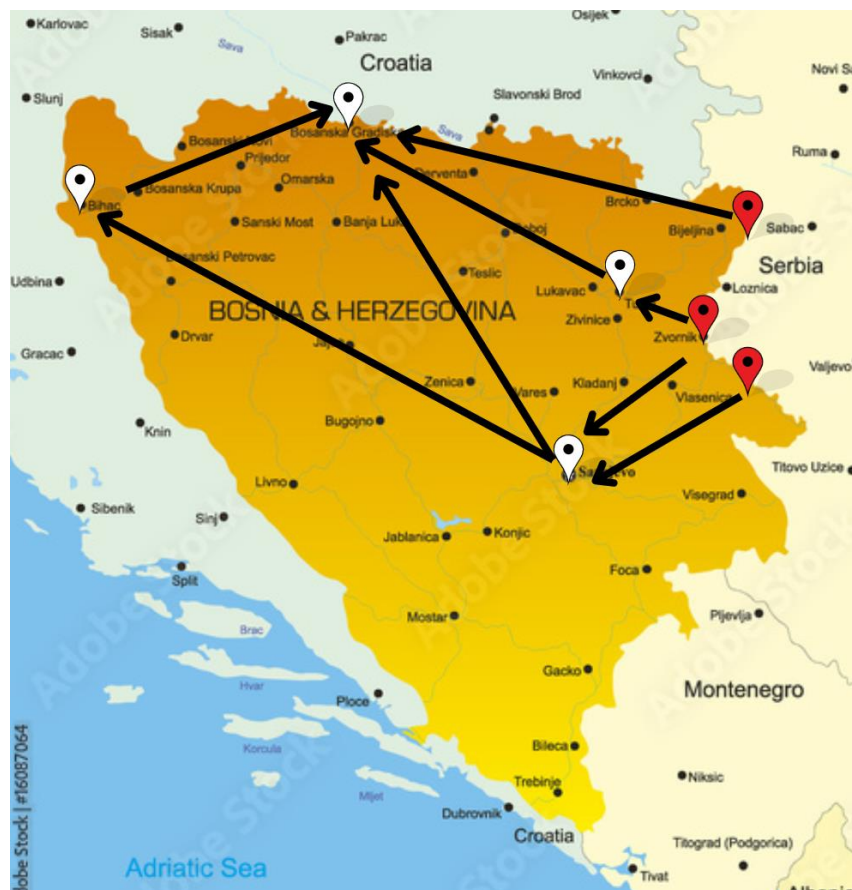
(Self-created map, 2024)

The issuance of work permits for residence and employment significantly underscores the rising influx of foreign labour, as highlighted in the "Focus of the Week" report by HUP's chief economist, Hrvoje Stojić. In the initial ten months of the current year, 147,301 permits were distributed, marking a substantial increase of 39% over the previous year. Two-thirds of these permits were allocated to the construction and tourism sectors. Projections for the entire year suggest that the number of work permits might escalate to between 170,000 and 175,000. Current estimates indicate that between 80,000 and 100,000 foreign workers are employed in Croatia, representing approximately 5 to 6% of this year's total workforce. (Slobodna Dalmacija 2023)

The Croatian Employment Service (CES) has rendered a favourable review for 147,593 workers, while 21,945 received a negative assessment. Foreign workers found employment across 522 different occupations with 15,352 employers. Most approvals and work permits were allocated to Zagreb, with 24,936 positive opinions.

Following Zagreb, Istria County became the second most favoured destination, granting 20,000 permits. Split-Dalmatia County and Zagreb County trailed closely, with 16,620 and 14,000 permits, respectively, for foreign labour. Conversely, the counties of Bjelovar-Bilogora, Virovitica-Podravina, and Požega-Slavonia issued the fewest permits, with 940, 618, and 567, respectively. The influx of foreign workers into Croatia has rapidly escalated, tripling numbers over two years. From issuing 48,455 positive permits in 2021, the figure surged to 109,241 in 2022 and 147,593 in the first eleven months of 2023. This exponential growth signifies that the number of foreign workers in Croatia last year was threefold the number in 2021. Moreover, there has been a notable shift in the demand for foreign labour across various occupations. In 2021, the top ten most sought-after occupations for foreign workers included only two tourism-related roles, "Cook" and "Waiter," ranked eighth and ninth. By 2023, "Waiter" ascended to the second position, "Assistant Cook" to the third, and roles such as "Cook," "Cleaner," "Assistant Waiter," and "Delivery" also featured among the top ten in demand. This shift indicates that while the construction sector predominantly relied on foreign workers in 2021, the tourism sector has become equally dependent on international labour by 2023. (Perković 2024)

In 2023, the Croatian Ministry of the Interior issued 172,499 residence and work permits to third-country nationals, encompassing new, extended, and seasonal work permits. While most of these workers traditionally hail from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of workers from Nepal, India, and the Philippines. Specifically, last year saw the engagement of over 124,000 workers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, around 24,000 from Serbia, nearly 23,500 from Nepal, and more than 15,000 from India within Croatia. (Faktograf.hr 2024)

Recent data from the Ministry of the Interior indicates that 14,219 residence and work permits were granted in January of this year alone. Nepalese workers received the highest number of these permits, with individuals from Bosnia and Herzegovina, India, the Philippines, and Serbia comprising significant portions of the recipients. (Faktograf.hr 2024)

The transition in Croatia's labour market, marked by a shift from predominantly Balkan to Asian sources of foreign labour, represents a significant transformation within Croatian society over the years 2023 and the start of 2024. This evolution reflects broader trends in global migration and labour dynamics, underscoring the changing patterns of labour mobility and the increasingly diverse origins of migrant workers. As Croatia seeks to fill gaps in its labour force, the influx of workers from Nepal, India, the Philippines, and others signifies a demographic shift. It poses implications for the country's social integration, cultural adaptation, and economic policies. This labour market recalibration is indicative of Croatia's response to the dual challenges of an ageing population and labour shortages in critical economic sectors such as construction, tourism, and healthcare. The increasing reliance on Asian workers highlights the global nature of labour markets and Croatia's integration into these dynamics, raising questions about the sustainability of labour policies, the protection of workers' rights, and the fostering of multicultural inclusivity.

In the subsequent sections, we will delve deeper into the migration dynamics within specific urban centres, namely Zagreb and Rijeka. These cities serve as microcosms for observing the impacts of these

shifts in labour migration on urban development, social cohesion, and economic strategies. By examining the migration dynamics in Zagreb and Rijeka, we can gain insights into the broader implications of these labour market changes for urban policy, community relations, and the future trajectory of Croatian society in the context of global migration trends.

- *4.2 Overview of Zagreb and Rijeka*

- *4.2.1 Zagreb: Urban Scale and Migration Dynamics*

Located in Croatia's heart, Zagreb is positioned at the crossroads of Central Europe and the Mediterranean and stands as a beacon of the country's demographic significance. With a population of over 800,000 people, Zagreb is the largest city (by population) in Croatia by sheer numbers and the second most expansive, behind Gospić, stretching over 641 square kilometres of varied landscape. (Dzs.gov.hr, 2024) As the capital and the largest city, it anchors the nation's administrative, cultural, and economic vibrancy. This prominence extends beyond its geographical and historical stature, reflecting a dynamic capacity to attract and nurture diverse talents, ideas, and cultures. Zagreb's magnetic appeal to migrants seeking new opportunities within Croatia and beyond is a hallmark of its central role in the nation's life.

Figure 20-Zagreb

(Vecteezy n.d.)

Croatia's centralized governance model further accentuates Zagreb's significance, with the city serving as the primary locus of decision-making, resource allocation, and economic development. This centralization has made Zagreb a focal point for migration, drawing individuals from all over the country and the region in search of better prospects. The urban infrastructure of Zagreb stands as a testament to its development, characterized by a comprehensive transportation network that ensures seamless connectivity, educational institutions that offer myriad opportunities for academic and professional advancement, and healthcare facilities that provide essential services to residents and newcomers alike. The job market in Zagreb, particularly vibrant in the service sector, tech industries, and academia, offers many opportunities for domestic and international migrants, positioning the city as a hub of professional possibilities.

A rich tapestry of demographics shapes the migration dynamics in Zagreb. The city attracts a diverse mix of EU nationals (digital nomads), third-country migrants, and internal migrants from within Croatia and the wider region, including significant internal migration streams from areas like Bosnia and Herzegovina

and specific communities such as Janjevo in Kosovo. This movement is driven by Zagreb's economic opportunities, the quality of its educational institutions, and the overall standard of living, making it a magnet for those seeking advancement and a new start.

However, Zagreb's appeal as a migration destination also presents its challenges, including integration into the urban fabric, housing accessibility, and the provision of social services. Despite these challenges, the city is trying to adopt an approach to address the issues, focusing on policies and initiatives to facilitate integration and promote inclusivity. Migrants contribute significantly to the city's cultural diversity and economic vitality, bringing fresh perspectives, skills, and energy that enrich the community and propel Zagreb's growth as the city continues to navigate the complexities of migration, its resilience and progressive outlook promise to sustain its role as a vibrant, inclusive society.

Figure 21-Screenshot of Zagreb from Google maps

- *4.2.2 Rijeka: Port City and Transit Hub*

Nestled along the northern Croatian coast of the Adriatic Sea, Rijeka commands a pivotal position as a significant port and transit hub. Its strategic location has historically been vital, linking Central Europe with the Mediterranean's maritime routes. This historical role has shaped Rijeka's identity and economic and social fabric, establishing the city as a critical player in regional and international trade and migration patterns.

With approximately 128,000 residents, Rijeka is Croatia's third-largest city. Spanning an area of about 44 square kilometres, it combines urban life with the industrial coastal town, making it a distinct entity within the country's geographic and demographic landscape. (Dzs.gov.hr, 2024)

The dynamics of Rijeka's port are central to understanding the city's economic vitality and magnetic pull as a destination for migration. As Croatia's principal seaport, it is the heartbeat of the city's economy, heavily influencing local employment opportunities. Maritime industries, logistics, and the shipping sector

are the mainstays of Rijeka's economy, drawing a skilled workforce from national and international waters.

Figure 22- Rijeka

(Rijeka, n.d.)

Rijeka's significance extends beyond its economic contributions; it also plays a crucial role as a transit hub for migrants. Its port facilities and geographic proximity to the Balkan migration route make it a critical entry point into Croatia and the wider European Union. The city thus finds itself at the crossroads of regular and irregular migration flows, which has profound implications for local and national migration policies, border control practices, and the humanitarian response to migrants and asylum seekers traversing this route.

Throughout history, Rijeka has been a nexus of migration, especially during Yugoslavia, when industrial development and urbanization shaped internal migration patterns. The city attracted workers across the federation, contributing to its diverse demographic profile and enriching its cultural tapestry. This migration history has embedded a legacy of diversity and adaptation, which remain integral to Rijeka's identity today.

Further solidifying its reputation as a city of open-mindedness and inclusivity, Rijeka is recognized as the 13th city in a ranking of open-minds and liberal cities in Europe. (putni kofer 2022) This distinction reflects its long-standing tradition of embracing diversity, fostering a welcoming environment, and actively promoting tolerance, dialogue, and cultural exchange.

Figure 23-Screenshot of Rijeka from Google Maps
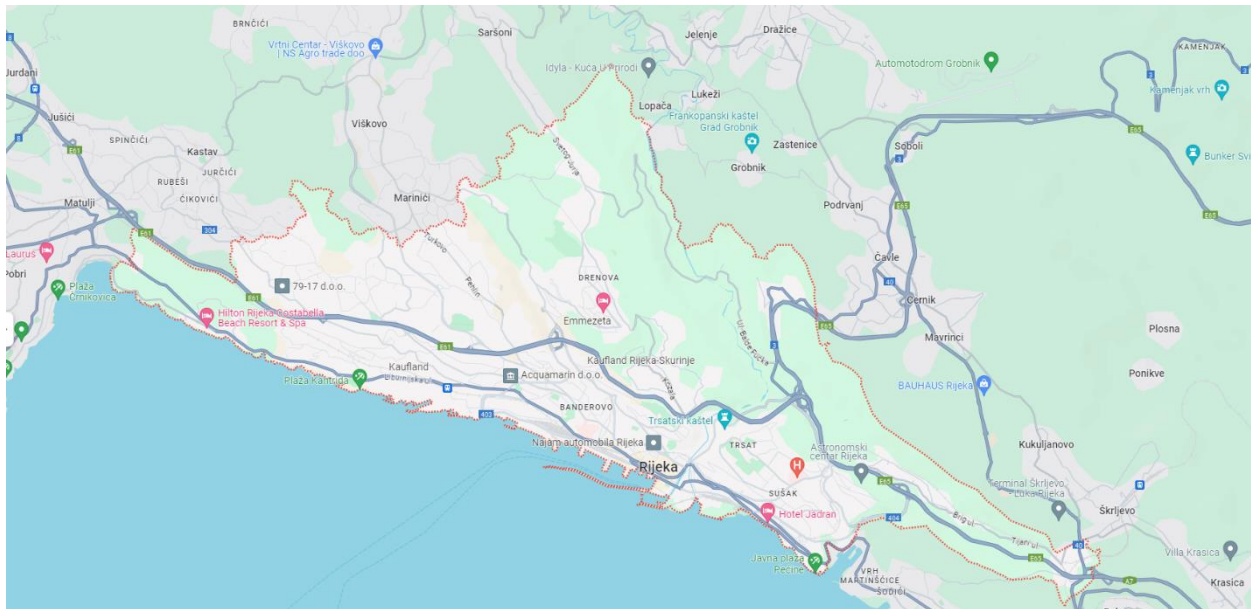
Chapter 5: ANALYSIS

5.1 Zagreb

IOM

Analyzing Zagreb's role in migration, the International Organization for Migration suggests that Croatia should strategically plan how to manage and integrate legal migrants effectively. This not only addresses the immediate needs of migrants but also has the potential to enrich Croatia's cultural diversity and boost its economy. For instance, out of 130,000 work permits issued, 25% were renewals, indicating many migrants wishing to settle long-term in Croatia. The remainder, being new applications, highlights the continuous influx of newcomers. This dynamic poses a critical question about integration, particularly the role of language. The common consensus is that language integration should be a cornerstone of the national migration strategy, as it is a key factor in successful integration. However, it is often debated that language barriers do not necessarily hinder integration in the long term. Those who do not initially learn the language might still facilitate integration for the second generation, who are more likely to be fluent.

"Despite its small size and population, Croatia received 60,000 asylum requests, which might be inflated due to duplicate applications by the same individuals under different identities. The Croatian system currently is not equipped to handle massive inflows like 10,000 asylum seekers at once, highlights the country's limited capacity to manage large-scale migration."   Migration studies often begin with examining push and pull factors, which are critical in understanding voluntary or forced migration decisions. In Croatia, the pull factors are predominantly economic opportunities and political stability, attracting many asylum seekers and economic migrants, as evidenced by the 60,000 asylum requests noted. This influx suggests a strong perception of Croatia as a viable destination offering safety and economic prospects. Conversely, the push factors likely include economic duress, political instability, or violence in the countries of origin, compelling individuals to seek refuge or better living conditions in Croatia. Lee's Theory of Migration elaborates on the migration decision process, including the push and

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pull factors, personal motives, and structural barriers. Migrants are influenced by factors at both origin and destination points that either facilitate or hinder migration. This theory is particularly relevant in discussing the bureaucratic and integration challenges migrants face in Croatia. Obstacles such as language barriers and cultural integration are critical in determining the effectiveness of the migration process. Despite the initial attractions (pull factors), these intervening obstacles can significantly impact the overall integration experience and the migrants' ability to contribute economically and socially.

"We encountered an illustrative case involving Kurdish immigrants from Turkey, renowned for their exceptional culinary skills. Although their cuisine is highly appreciated, they faced challenges adapting to local regulations in Croatia. They initially attempted to sell their food using a simple wooden stand outside their homes, unaware that this violated local health, safety, and business regulations. These cultural and procedural misunderstandings underscore the complexities of navigating legal frameworks and business practices in a new country, which cannot be fully explained or resolved immediately. It may take several years—perhaps 5 to 10—to fully acclimate to these aspects. We should not feel embarrassed by our current limitations in processing and supporting the large numbers of newcomers; rather, we should recognize the scale of this challenge. Croatia is relatively new to managing such high volumes of migration and requires time to develop efficient systems and processes. As we continue to learn and adapt, we must plan more effectively and anticipate potential challenges, ensuring a smoother integration process for all involved. This empathetic perspective highlights the struggles faced by migrants and the need for supportive policies and processes." In the context of migration, hospitality goes beyond mere accommodation and touches on the ethical obligation to welcome and integrate migrants into the social fabric. Jørgensen & Agustín argue that genuine hospitality extends the notion of acceptance from temporary shelter to full societal inclusion, which allows migrants to participate fully in the economic, social, and cultural life of the host country.

"Understanding these migration dynamics is crucial, especially considering how they can transform smaller communities overnight, whereas larger cities like Zagreb can absorb changes more subtly. Croatia faces a workforce shortfall of around 400,000 despite having 200,000 available workers. If these positions were filled, the increase in population would inevitably lead to higher market prices due to increased demand. Again, language plays a pivotal role; in major cities, not speaking Croatian might not pose a significant barrier, but in less developed areas, it can be a considerable obstacle." From an economic standpoint, this situation presents both a challenge and an opportunity. The influx of workers could stimulate economic growth by filling critical labour gaps, but it could also strain local resources and infrastructure, leading to increased living costs. The delicate balance required here reflects Schiller's scaling theory, which suggests that local economic impacts must be considered within national and global migration policies. Effective policy-making would need to scale these dynamics appropriately, ensuring that local markets are neither overwhelmed nor underutilized. By applying Nina Schiller's scaling theory, this analysis can view the interplay between local impacts and broader migration trends. The theory advocates for an approach that neither exclusively focuses on the macro (national and global policies) nor the micro (individual community experiences) but rather on an integrated perspective that considers all levels. Moreover, Jorgensen and Garcia's emphasis on hospitality and solidarity provides a normative framework to address these challenges. It suggests that policies should not only manage economic impacts and workforce integration but should also foster environments where migrants can thrive, contributing to their new communities without surrendering their linguistic and cultural identities. This

call for solidarity and hospitality emphasizes the shared responsibility in migration management and the need for inclusive policies.

The Dual Labour Market Theory provides an economic lens through which to view migration, emphasizing the demand for labour in industrialized economies and how this demand creates segmented labour markets. Croatia's scenario aligns with this theory with a workforce shortfall of around 400,000 despite having 200,000 available workers. The issuance of 130,000 work permits highlights an economic strategy to fill labour market gaps predominantly in the economy's secondary, less stable, and often lower-paid sectors. This targeted approach to migration addresses immediate labour needs but raises questions about the long-term social implications and the sustainability of relying on migrant labour for economic growth.

"There are concerns about stereotypes potentially leading to discrimination. Differentiating between integration and assimilation is vital, with the latter often seen in contexts of internal migration within Croatia, where there is a push towards erasing individual identities—a form of aggressive assimilation rather than integration. The upcoming European pact on migration is expected to introduce changes that could foster solidarity at a higher level, although it might also create divisions within the EU." In Croatia, the distinction between assimilation and integration is particularly significant. Assimilation, often observed in contexts of internal migration within Croatia, involves a degree of cultural or identity erasure that can damage one's individual and group identity. This aggressive form of assimilation contrasts starkly with integration, which ideally supports migrants in maintaining their cultural identities while becoming active, contributing members of their new communities. From a theoretical standpoint, Nina Schiller's scaling theory suggests that understanding these dynamics requires a multi-scalar approach. Policies that recognize the local implications of broader national and EU-wide strategies need to be developed. Effective integration policies should consider the specific needs of communities and migrants, ensuring that integration does not morph into forced assimilation. Using Jorgensen and Garcia's framework, the pact can be seen as an opportunity to enhance solidarity by standardizing certain aspects of migration management, thereby reducing the burden on individual states. However, such standardization must not compromise the hospitable and solidaristic approaches needed locally. Policies must be flexible enough to allow for local adaptations that respect different EU countries' diverse cultural and social contexts.

"Migration is also a significant electoral issue in Croatia. It is often framed as either a problem or a solution, where governments are installed or failed based on this "problem". Migration should not be a problem or solution; simply, it is there and happening. Comparisons with countries like Canada, which maintains controlled migration quotas, suggest that Croatia could benefit from a more structured approach, especially in handling migrations from third-world countries. Historical examples from 1991 to 1995 show that Croatia accommodated over 700,000 people from Bosnia and Herzegovina, indicating a capacity for effective response during crises." The mention of the European pact bringing solidarity to a higher level suggests an alignment with Jørgensen & Agustín's theory. However, true solidarity would require that such policies translate into actionable support at the ground level, which includes adequate housing, employment opportunities, and social services that are accessible to migrants. The historical example of Croatia managing over 700,000 people from Bosnia and Herzegovina illustrates a moment of practical solidarity. However, for such efforts to be sustainable, they must be backed by ongoing, robust support systems.

"As Croatia navigates these challenges, the focus should be on better coordination between cities, municipalities, and the national government to manage migration impacts proactively. Issues like language courses—fluctuating interest depending on availability—and bureaucratic hurdles in mobilizing language teachers illustrate the administrative challenges in migration management." At the national level, the Croatian government has a pivotal role in setting comprehensive policies that support and enhance the efforts made by local authorities. This involves developing overarching strategies for migration management and ensuring that sufficient resources are directed toward localities to implement these strategies. The national government's commitment to reducing administrative barriers and providing steady funding can significantly impact the effectiveness of local programs. Integrating Nina Schiller's scaling theory into this context, we see the importance of not prioritizing one governmental scale over another. Instead, there is a compelling need for a synchronized approach that aligns local realities with national policies, ensuring that initiatives like language courses are supported at every level and are responsive to the fluctuating demands and conditions on the ground.

Further enriching this approach are . Jørgensen & Agustín theories on hospitality and solidarity, which advocate migration management beyond mere administration. These theories call for a deeper, more ethical engagement with the processes of integration, emphasizing the need to make language learning and other integration services not only available but welcoming and tailored to the diverse needs of migrants. This would mean actively dismantling the bureaucratic hurdles that currently hinder the deployment of resources like language teachers and creating an environment where these services are implemented with genuine hospitality and solidarity.

"Effective integration strategies should begin before migrants arrive, with targeted programs that attract skilled workers for specific sectors where Croatia faces shortages. This proactive approach and a realistic assessment of the country's capacity to process and integrate new arrivals will be crucial for Croatia's future migration strategy, ensuring that it remains humane and practical."

CMS

"...The CMS not only offers free legal aid but also proactively seeks to influence legal changes, a role that is crucial in the urban sanctuary framework..." The CMS's provision of free legal aid and its active role in influencing legal changes are not just about aiding migrants. They are also about challenging restrictive national norms. By offering legal support, the CMS not only assists migrants in navigating the complex legal landscape but also strives for systemic change that can provide enhanced protection against harsh national immigration policies. This underscores the sanctuary city's characteristic of creating protective environments within the urban space, challenging restrictive national norms. Similarly, the push for more local autonomy supports these efforts at a structural level. "…There is a call for more decentralization, allowing cities and municipalities more power to support migrants effectively…" Advocating for decentralization aligns with the sanctuary concept by emphasizing local governance and autonomy in migrant affairs. This could enable cities to tailor approaches to migrant welfare that fit their unique contexts, bypassing slower or less effective national responses.

"...CMS raises awareness through cultural panels   and local community collaborations..." These efforts embody the solidarity aspect of supporting migrants by engaging the broader community. They not only educate the local population about migrant issues but also foster a sense of shared responsibility and community spirit. Such actions challenge the marginalization of migrants and promote social inclusion.

Building on this foundation of community involvement, the collaborative spirit also extends to the organizational level. "...Despite competition for funds, NGOs network to collectively support migrants..." This coordination shows a practical manifestation of solidarity: Even amidst structural challenges like funding, entities come together to prioritize the welfare of migrants. This collective approach forms a critical support system that can advocate for and implement migrant rights and services. This capacity for rapid coordination among NGOs and the government was crucially demonstrated during the Ukrainian crisis.

"...Quick governmental and NGO response to the Ukrainian crisis, activating various support measures..." This rapid and coordinated response is a sterling example of solidarity in practice. It shows how systems can effectively mobilize to provide immediate support to migrants in urgent situations. It showcases how solidarity can transcend regular bureaucratic delays in times of acute need.

"...Hosting cultural events that integrate and celebrate migrant cultures..." These activities implement the hospitality framework, where the local community and migrants unite through cultural exchange. This not only allows migrants to express their cultural identities but also helps break down barriers and promote coexistence and mutual understanding within the urban fabric. These cultural activities pave the way for further engagement and empowerment. "...Migrants are educated and empowered to advocate for their rights and participate in societal functions..." These initiatives enhance the hospitality offered to migrants by empowering them to speak up and engage actively in the community. They shift the narrative from seeing migrants as passive aid recipients to active participants in their new environments, essential for proper integration and hospitality. This empowerment is especially vital given the frequent discrepancies between the letter of the law and its practical application. "...Laws well secure migrants' rights, but practical application often fails..." This challenge highlights the limits of both sanctuary and hospitality. While policies may be in place to protect and integrate migrants, the failure in their practical application can lead to gaps in protection and integration, thus undermining the effectiveness of sanctuary policies and the genuine hospitality of the urban environment. This gap in effective policy implementation necessitates additional support, often filled by non-governmental organizations. "...NGOs are compelled to take on roles that should be managed by the state, like language courses..." This overburden of NGOs reflects a tension in the solidarity framework. It demonstrates the reliance on grassroots movements to compensate for state inadequacies, which can strain resources and potentially limit the scope and sustainability of solidarity efforts.

"...Migrants come to Croatia facing various challenges, but also potentially drawn by better prospects than their countries of origin..." Croatia presents as a new destination for various migrants, pulled by the prospect of political stability and opportunities absent in their home countries. Challenges in their home countries (like violence, poverty, or lack of services) act as push factors, while opportunities for legal protection and community support in Croatia serve as pull factors. However, the reality upon arrival can often differ significantly from expectations. "...Migrants, particularly foreign workers, face issues with residence permits linked to employment and discrimination, affecting their job security and living conditions..." Migrants often find themselves in the secondary labour market characterized by precarious employment conditions, low wages, and limited job security. The dependency of residence status on employment underlines the structural vulnerabilities migrants face, emphasizing the deep-seated segmentation in the labour market. This is what we see in Dual Labour Market Theory.

"...CMS and other NGOs provide a support network, including legal aid and cultural integration programs..." These efforts represent a form of community and institutional response that tries to mitigate the disadvantages migrants face in the secondary labour market. However, the systemic nature of these challenges means that without broader policy changes, these efforts may only provide temporary relief rather than long-term solutions. These challenging conditions necessitate additional support systems to address and alleviate these hardships. "...Despite legal protections, migrants face   practical challenges, from integration to everyday discrimination and relying on NGOs for services like language training that should be state-provided...." The situation can be explained through t he Urban Marginality Theory, where migrants are often socially and spatially segregated, leading to economic and social exclusion. The failure of the state to provide necessary services and the reliance on NGOs highlight the structural conditions that perpetuate marginality. Direct adverse interactions within the community further intensify this framework of marginalization. "...Increased instances of discrimination and violence against migrants, such as verbal attacks and physical assaults, particularly in urban settings..." This directly aligns with the aspects of social stigmatization outlined in Urban Marginality Theory. The stigmatization and physical targeting of migrants exacerbate their exclusion and hinder their ability to integrate into society, reinforcing the cycles of marginality and disadvantage. This social environment creates a context in which the responses of governmental bodies to different migrant crises can vary significantly, further complicating the landscape of migrant support. "...The differing governmental responses to the Ukrainian crisis compared to other migration situations..." This instance illustrates the selective application of solidarity and support, which can further marginalize other migrant groups who do not receive similar levels of aid or attention. This selective support can reflect systemic biases within the state's policies and public perceptions, influenced by the broader political and social context.

"...Migrants engage in various cultural events, such as cooking classes and poetry readings, which not only facilitate their cultural expression but also engage the local community..." According to Glick Schiller, migrants are significant agents in redefining urban cultural and social landscapes. The involvement of migrants in these cultural activities contributes to the socio-cultural enrichment of the city, positioning it as a more inclusive and culturally diverse environment. This aligns with the concept that migrants can influence urban scaling by introducing new cultural dimensions to the city. "...The involvement of migrants in the local economy, particularly through jobs that might fall into the secondary market but are crucial for the functioning of urban life..." Migrants contribute to the economic vitality of cities through their labour, often in sectors less appealing to native citizens. Glick Schiller's theory emphasizes the role of migrants in urban economic structures, where their participation can spur transformations in local economies, potentially leading to shifts in the city's scalar positioning within the global hierarchy. "...Migrants and NGOs advocate for changes in laws and policies to better accommodate migrant needs and rights..." Migrants, together with local NGOs, participate in governance by influencing policies and advocating for their rights. This involvement shows that migrants can challenge and potentially reshape local governance strategies, contributing to the reconstitution of urban spaces.

"...Despite legal protections, practical challenges in integration and access persist, highlighted by the reliance on NGOs for services and protection..." These challenges point to a complex interplay between migrant incorporation and urban policy, where gaps in effective integration can negatively reflect and influence the city's scalar position. Migrants face structural barriers that may impede their full potential in contributing to urban scaling, thus affecting the city's ability to ascend in the global urban hierarchy. "..The varied governmental response to different groups of migrants, such as the robust response to the

Ukrainian crisis versus other migration situations..." This instance reflects the city's selective engagement in migrant incorporation, which Glick Schiller might argue affects the urban scaling process. How a city responds to different migrant crises can influence its reputation and role on a global scale, impacting its ability to attract further international connections and investments. "...Extensive networks of NGOs and community   initiatives supporting migrant integration and rights..." The robust network of NGOs and community initiatives in supporting migrants not only aids in immediate incorporation but also contributes to long-term urban resilience and transformation. This aligns with Glick Schiller's perspective on migrants and local actors as critical contributors to urban scaling through active engagement in shaping urban policies and cultural landscapes. Migrants are not just passive participants but are crucial in shaping the economic, cultural, and political landscapes of cities. Their active involvement can help redefine a city's global stature and influence its trajectory in the urban hierarchy, reflecting the interconnectedness of migrant incorporation and urban transformation.

City of Zagreb

On March 14th, a semi-structured interview was conducted in Zagreb with Jana Radić, the Head of the Department for the Promotion of Human Rights and Civil Society. The discussion delved into the critical issues and initiatives related to the integration of migrants into Croatian/Zagreb society, highlighting the role of governmental and non-governmental organizations in fostering an inclusive environment. This interview aimed to shed light on the ongoing efforts and challenges in promoting human rights and enhancing the participation of civil society in these processes. The insights provided by Ms. Radić are instrumental in understanding the dynamic interplay between policy-making and grassroots activism within Zagreb's urban landscape, offering a deeper look into the city's commitment to creating a supportive and welcoming space for all its residents.

Urban sanctuary, solidarity and hospitality

"...The City of Zagreb's proactive strategy includes comprehensive plans to integrate not only asylum seekers but also persons granted international protection, those with temporary protection, and foreign workers.   This action plan embodies the city's approach to offering sanctuary and facilitating access to rights and services, demonstrating an inclusive stance toward various migrant statuses:

" This plan is not just a theoretical concept, but a practical implementation of the Urban Sanctuary framework. It ensures that migrants are not marginalized due to their legal status and have access to necessary services that support their integration and livelihood in the city. It shows Zagreb's commitment to acting as a refuge and a counterpoint to potentially restrictive national immigration policies, and this commitment is further exemplified through the city's educational initiatives.

"...The city initiated and is organizing language courses, aiming to educate 150 people initially, with plans to expand to 500 based on demand. The language courses are strategically developed to facilitate smoother integration, recognizing language as a critical barrier to accessing services and engaging in community life..."   By facilitating language acquisition, Zagreb is not just providing a service, but enhancing its sanctuary capabilities. It is equipping migrants with an essential tool for personal empowerment and societal participation. This initiative directly addresses the practical needs of migrants and aligns with creating a protective urban environment that supports the acquisition of new skills necessary for integration. In connection with these educational efforts, the city further deepens its commitment to migrant integration through collaboration with various stakeholders. "...The city

collaborates with civil society organizations to execute integration activities, such as translation services, cultural mediation, and training sessions to prepare migrants for the labour market. These activities are designed to engage both the migrant population and the broader community, fostering mutual understanding and cooperation..." This cooperative approach exemplifies solidarity in practice. The synergy between the city government and civil societies enhances the support system for migrants. It demonstrates a shared responsibility among different stakeholders to create a more inclusive and supportive urban space. Building on this foundation of collaboration and mutual support, the city also further educates and integrates the broader community into these efforts. "...Events like World Refugee Day and International Migrants Day are organized to educate and sensitize the public about migrants' experiences and contributions. These events strategically promote a positive narrative around migration and encourage communal support and empathy..." Such public events are crucial in solidifying community solidarity, challenging prejudices, and fostering a spirit of unity and support within the urban environment. They serve as platforms to raise awareness and engage the broader population in the realities of migrant lives, promoting an inclusive urban culture. This culture of inclusivity and awareness is further implemented as "...Planned for launch at the end of April; the one-stop-shop is an innovative approach to streamline services for migrants, providing them with a single location to access all necessary information and assistance. This center will cater to various needs, such as healthcare, education, and legal services, and is designed to operate in multiple languages to ensure accessibility..." The one-stop-shop model directly manifests hospitality in the urban context, simplifying the bureaucratic process and making the city more accessible to migrants. It embodies the city's commitment to creating an open and welcoming environment where migrants can easily obtain the support they need without the stress of navigating complex administrative systems. This local initiative exemplifies the city's proactive approach to migrant integration, which becomes even more critical in the absence of national directives."...Due to the absence of a strategic national document on integration, the city has had to take independent actions, such as providing language courses. This local initiative arises from the need to fill gaps left by national policies, or the lack thereof, which has pushed the city to develop solutions to support migrants effectively..." While commendable, this reliance on local initiatives underscores the challenges and contradictions within the urban sanctuary and hospitality frameworks. It highlights the tension between local capacities and national responsibilities, illustrating the complexities of implementing comprehensive support systems that rely heavily on city resources and initiative.

Global migration theories

"...The city of Zagreb has developed an integration policy that includes a comprehensive action plan for asylum seekers, persons granted international protection, and foreign workers. The policy also includes organizing language courses and cultural integration programs..." This policy framework can be analyzed through push and pull factors. Migrants are drawn to Zagreb (pull factors) due to the opportunities for legal protection, social inclusion, and community support, contrasting with potentially adverse conditions (push factors) such as conflict, poor economic opportunities, or social instability in their countries of origin. The proactive measures by Zagreb are designed to enhance the city's attractiveness and livability for migrants, addressing their immediate needs and long-term integration prospects. These efforts are underscored by specific initiatives facilitating economic integration and societal participation. "...The city has organized certified language courses aimed at helping migrants secure their status in Croatia, acknowledging the essential role of language proficiency in integration. Additionally, there is mention of a law amendment extending work permits to three years to facilitate longer stays and better

integration..." These initiatives reflect an understanding of the dual labour market theory. By providing language training and securing more extended work permits, Zagreb is attempting to mitigate the challenges migrants face in accessing the primary labour market, which offers better job security and career development opportunities. These efforts aim to reduce the relegation of migrants to the secondary market, characterized by precarious employment conditions, and set a strong foundation for more comprehensive support structures. "...The one-stop-shop initiative is designed to provide all necessary services in one place for migrants, streamlining their access to essential services. Public sensitization activities, such as education campaigns and cultural presentations in schools, aim to reduce stigma and promote better understanding between migrants and the local community..." Measures address some of the core concerns of Urban Marginality Theory by attempting to dismantle the social and systemic barriers that lead to the marginalization of migrants in urban settings. The one-stop shop helps reduce the spatial and bureaucratic segregation of migrants by providing a centralized location for assistance. At the same time, sensitization initiatives tackle social stigmatization directly, which is crucial for enhancing urban inclusion and reducing marginality.

Scaling

"Zagreb has implemented a comprehensive integration policy, including a second action plan covering asylum seekers, persons granted international protection and foreign workers. The policy outlines various programs, including language courses and cultural integration initiatives." According to Glick Schiller's theory, Zagreb's integration policies are not just a response to migration but a strategic move that positions the city as an active player in redefining its scale and influence in the global hierarchy of cities. By providing structured support to migrants, Zagreb is not only enhancing its socio-economic dynamics but also potentially shifting its position from a lower to a higher scale in the urban hierarchy. The city's efforts in accommodating and integrating migrants are not just a necessity but a transformational journey towards becoming a more globally connected and culturally diverse metropolis. Targeted educational programs are not just a tool but a catalyst for this transformation.

"...The city organizes language courses to empower migrants with the necessary linguistic skills to function effectively within society, including a certified B1-level course that helps secure migrants' status in Croatia..." This initiative directly applies to the idea that migrants can significantly contribute to the urban scaling process by participating in the local economy and society. By equipping migrants with language skills, Zagreb not only aids their integration but also enhances its attractiveness as a destination for future migrants and international businesses, thereby potentially improving its position in the global urban hierarchy. Zagreb is also enhancing accessibility and simplifying bureaucratic processes. "Zagreb plans to open a one-stop shop to provide all necessary services for migrants in one place. This facility is intended to simplify the bureaucratic process for migrants, making the city more accessible." This development illustrates how urban environments can adapt their structures to better incorporate migrants. The one-stop-shop makes Zagreb more user-friendly for migrants, enhancing its reputation as an inclusive city and potentially increasing its desirability and competitive standing among other global cities. This strategic move is complemented by the city's efforts to foster a culturally inclusive environment through public events and activities.

"...The city conducts public sensitization events and cultural activities that promote understanding and interaction between migrants and the local community..." These activities help reshape Zagreb's cultural and social landscape by fostering a more inclusive and diverse urban culture, Zagreb enhances its global

image and attractiveness, contributing to its upward movement in the urban hierarchy. These efforts also demonstrate the city's proactive role in managing its demographic changes in a global context. However, despite these positive measures, challenges such as the effectiveness of integration programs and dependency on local initiatives over national support persist.

"...Despite proactive measures, challenges such as the real-time effectiveness of integration programs and dependency on local initiatives over national support persist..." While Zagreb strives to enhance its urban scale through migrant incorporation, resource limitations and national policy alignment could hinder these efforts. Addressing these challenges is essential for sustaining the city's growth and ensuring its rise in the global urban hierarchy. The collaboration between the city and civil society is crucial in overcoming these obstacles.

"...The City of Zagreb collaborates with legal clinics and other civil society organizations to provide migrants with legal information and other necessary services. These collaborations offer practical assistance such as filling out necessary forms and preparing migrants for integration..." Glick Schiller's theory suggests that cities can effectively leverage their relationships with migrant populations to enhance their global standing and urban scale. In line with this, the collaboration with civil societies in Zagreb is not just a partnership but a testament to the city's commitment to inclusivity and proactive urban development. This collaboration not only strengthens the support network for migrants but also bolsters the city's capacity to manage and integrate a diverse population, enhancing its profile as an inclusive and proactive urban centre.

This collaborative approach is further reinforced by legislative changes, which are not just policies but a reflection of the city's responsiveness to the needs of migrants and its commitment to their long-term integration and contribution to the city. "...Zagreb is working towards extending work permits to three years to facilitate longer stays and better integration opportunities for migrants. This legislative change is intended to provide migrants more stability, crucial for their long-term integration and contribution to the city..." Adjustments to work permit laws, are significant as they reflect the city's acknowledgement of the economic contributions of migrants. By providing them with more stability, Zagreb not only aids their personal and professional development but also enhances the city's labour market flexibility and economic dynamism. This policy change could help shift Zagreb towards a larger scale in the urban hierarchy by making it a more attractive destination for skilled migrants and international businesses. In addition to these legislative and policy initiatives, Zagreb also focuses on cultural education and sensitization to enhance social cohesion.

"...The city initiates alternative education programs where migrants and educational offices visit schools to share their countries' cultures and stories. These programs aim to sensitize the local youth and promote cultural appreciation and understanding..." Such sensitization programs are critical in fostering social cohesion and enhancing the city's cultural fabric. Improving residents' understanding of migrant backgrounds, these programs help reduce social barriers and promote an inclusive urban culture, essential for the city's social scaling and integration into the global network of culturally diverse and welcoming cities. While these programs effectively foster a positive relationship between migrants and the local community, challenges such as community concerns about migrants highlight the ongoing struggles in fully realizing Glick Schiller's theory of migrants as scale-makers.

"...Addressing community concerns regarding migrants around schools in Novi Zagreb, where parents expressed unease about the presence of migrants..." This situation underscores the ongoing challenges

in fully realizing Glick Schiller's theory of migrants as scale-makers. While the city is proactive in its policies and programs, local misconceptions and negative perceptions can hinder integration. Addressing these challenges through continued public education and community engagement is not just a task but a crucial mission for maintaining social harmony and ensuring that urban scaling benefits all stakeholders. It is a call to action for all urban planners, policymakers, and stakeholders involved in urban development and migration policies to work together towards a more inclusive and prosperous Zagreb.

JRS Zagreb

Zagreb's integration initiatives and housing support embody the concept of an Urban Sanctuary by providing protective environments for migrants. These programs are vital in establishing a city that supports migrants' rights and access to necessary services. Meri Muše states, "...In Croatia, there are few projects at the national level; currently, the city of Zagreb has some projects and initiatives, and we collaborate with them..." and further notes the provision of two years of free accommodation, "...As for Croatia, we are one of the few countries that gives a person who receives international protection two years of free accommodation while the person finds their feet..." These initiatives highlight Zagreb's efforts to create a sanctuary that aids migrants in stabilizing their lives in a new environment. Solidarity within Zagreb is demonstrated through both institutional and community-driven initiatives. The commitment of local institutions and the solidarity among migrants play a crucial role in fostering an inclusive community. Muše reflects on the deep commitment within the community and institutions: "...Generally speaking, I have really positive experiences with people who work in Croatian institutions; they really want to help... and there arises a need for solidarity and help..."

Moreover, the solidarity among Ukrainian refugees, as she describes, "...Ukrainians in Croatia collect supplies for wounded Ukrainian soldiers... they cook and bring them lunches every day..." showcases active community solidarity. Hospitality is manifested through efforts to integrate migrants culturally and socially into Zagreb. Language education and intercultural programs are central to these hospitality efforts, enhancing migrants' ability to engage with and contribute to their new community. Muše emphasizes the foundational role of language in integration processes: "...We have a language school, and language is the basis for everything... We, besides language courses, have intercultural encounters..." These programs are integral in reducing cultural barriers and fostering a welcoming environment. Despite proactive measures, systemic issues such as slow bureaucracy and disorganization at the state level pose significant challenges to fully realizing sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality. Muše highlights these systemic issues, "...The problem arises from the state's disorganization... People simply are not informed and do not receive information..." and mentions the sluggish processes, "...The whole process will again take months, the problem is plodding bureaucracy..." These citations underscore the challenges in implementing effective support systems for migrants nationally.

Discussing the questionable practices of employment agencies, Muše states, "...This is legal human smuggling, people have to pay to be employed in Croatia and not small money... 6000 to 10000 euros are amounts...in their home countries that is a serious amount of money..." This situation highlights a severe gap in the protective and inclusive policies needed to support migrants effectively. Exploitation by employment agencies represents a significant ethical and practical challenge that starkly contrasts with the principles of solidarity and hospitality within urban migration settings. This issue not only undermines the trust and safety of migrants but also hampers their ability to integrate successfully into their new communities. When migrants are subjected to high fees and deceptive practices, it not only financially burdens them but also places them in a vulnerable position where their legal and social rights are

compromised. Such exploitation is particularly egregious as it exploits the hopes of migrants seeking better opportunities and security, directly contravening the spirit of support and welcome that forms the foundation of hospitality.

Moreover, this practice erodes the solidarity within the community, as it fosters divisions and resentment between economic classes and cultural groups by highlighting the transactional nature of migration rather than its mutual benefits. This substantial financial burden placed on migrants not only strips them of their hard-earned money but also positions Croatia as a transit rather than a destination, which can lead to transient migrant communities less invested in long-term cultural integration and contribution.   To illustrate this, we can refer to the previously discussed interviews, directly tied to the financial and legal challenges imposed by their migration status. "…It's hard to feel part of a community where you're always one paycheck away from having to leave…" This sentiment underscores the precarious nature of their stay, which is heavily influenced by employment status, often leading to a lack of investment in the community's long-term welfare.

Muše comments on the migration patterns, "...Many of them have already left Croatia and live in other European countries, demonstrating their resilience in the face of challenging living conditions and low-paying jobs in Croatia..." This statement not only indicates the push factors, where economic hardships and inadequate employment opportunities push migrants away from Croatia despite initial settlement but also highlights the strength and determination of these migrants.

Muše also discusses how Croatia's community and institutional settings act as pull factors: "...Generally speaking, I have really positive experiences with people who work in Croatian institutions; they really want to help..." This showcases how supportive social environments can act as pull factors, not only promoting a sense of community and potential stability for migrants but also inspiring the potential for growth and development in the new environment.

Discussing employment challenges, Muše states, "...Agencies that bring workers to Croatia are at least questionable..." This illustrates how migrants are often relegated to the secondary labour market, facing precarious employment conditions and exploitation.

The integration of migrants into the Croatian labour market, as noted by Muše, often results in them occupying lower-wage jobs, which are characteristic of the secondary market: "...They mostly work such jobs, with minimum wage..." This scenario highlights the systemic limitations migrants face in accessing the primary labour market, which offers better job security and career development opportunities.

In the context of Nina Glick Schiller's theory on Migrants as Scale-Makers within Varying Pathways of Incorporation, the interview with Meri Muše from JRS Croatia provides substantive insights into how migrants influence the urban scaling of Zagreb. Muše notes, "...Many of them have already left Croatia and live in other European countries, as the living conditions in Croatia with low-paying jobs are not good...". This observation underscores the economic constraints that limit migrants' ability to positively impact Zagreb's urban scale. It is a manifestation of the dual labour market theory, a concept that posits that migrants are often confined to secondary sectors that offer limited benefits and stability. This, in turn, hinders their potential to contribute significantly to the city's economic stature. Furthermore, Muše describes initiatives such as "...intercultural encounters, especially for women, especially for men, especially for teenagers, especially for children, we have art therapy, workshops for rights, job finding, we provide free legal help...", which are pivotal in fostering cultural integration and enhancing the social

fabric of the city. These programs are crucial for enabling migrants to play a more active role in the community, aligning with Glick Schiller's perspective that culturally integrated migrants can redefine urban identities and enhance the city's position in the global hierarchy. However, challenges like housing issues and public scepticism towards migrants, as noted by Muše, act as barriers to fully realizing this potential. To optimize the benefits of migration in urban scaling, policies need to address economic participation and enhance social acceptance and integration, creating a holistic environment where migrants are critical players in shaping the urban landscape. This integrated approach will be essential for cities like Zagreb to harness the transformative potentials of migrants effectively, promoting a more inclusive and dynamically scaled urban development.

5.2 Rijeka

"...The city of Rijeka, recognizing the need, stepped in to cover the utilities for the private property, including electricity, water, and garbage disposal..." This indirect support from the city made the space more sustainable for migrant support activities. It's a testament to the resilience of the migrant community that, despite the lack of direct sanctuary policies, they were able to maintain a safe and welcoming space. This aligns with the concept of Urban Sanctuary, where cities provide essential services to support vulnerable populations, effectively creating a buffer against national immigration policies that might be more restrictive. "...We managed to sustain ourselves with the help of non-governmental organizations which also donated food, clothes, shoes, etc..." This describes the solidarity shown by various NGOs and local businesses that contributed resources to support the migrant center. The collaboration across different sectors of the community underscores a collective commitment to support migrants, transcending individual or organizational boundaries. This community response exemplifies solidarity by pooling resources and efforts to aid migrants, reinforcing the social fabric and collective responsibility towards migrants. "...Some restaurants also got involved...especially on weekends, they organized themselves and brought us large amounts of food..." The involvement of local restaurants in providing meals reflects a profound sense of hospitality, offering more than just shelter or legal aid, but also ensuring migrants had access to warm meals. This act of generosity and welcome directly contributes to the sense of belonging and acceptance for migrants within the community. It showcases how hospitality extends beyond accommodation to include nurturing and caring for guests, which is central to building trust. "...The containers were quickly procured, one for showers, one for clothes and shoes, one for medical supplies, and a large tent where migrants could rest and continue their journey..." This rapid mobilization of infrastructure highlights an integrated approach combining elements of sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality. It reflects an immediate and coordinated response to meet the basic needs of migrants, reinforcing their dignity and safety. By providing comprehensive facilities, Rijeka demonstrated a holistic approach to migrant support, emphasizing the city's capacity to adapt and respond to urgent humanitarian needs. "...We are self-organized citizens who rallied around these people on the move, but it soon became clear that we couldn't manage on our own anymore—it was financially unsustainable. Moreover, we were always in fear of the police because, in reality, helping was not allowed. We were constantly on the lookout, and we had to be careful when bringing food or medicine, always having someone watch out in case we needed to run if the police came. It became too dangerous, so we decided to seek help. We went door to door to every relevant institution in the city, trying to reach people who had the power to help. The only one who helped us was the archbishop, who said that we must help our brother in need. His motto is 'people for people.' He immediately decided to help, calling a meeting with the city and the Red Cross, insisting that people needed to be helped. After his intervention, things moved quickly..." This narrative underscores the principle of solidarity as manifested through the collective

efforts of local citizens and the eventual institutional support catalyzed by the archbishop's intervention. Initially, the local group's grassroots efforts to provide direct aid to migrants faced significant challenges, including legal risks and financial insufficiency, reflecting the complex interplay between civic engagement and institutional barriers. The fear of police intervention highlights the potential risks involved in such solidarity actions, demonstrating the tension between grassroots humanitarian efforts and the constraints imposed by law enforcement practices.

The archbishop's role in this narrative is not just a symbol of institutional solidarity, but a beacon of hope. By leveraging his influential position, he facilitated a broader coalition involving the city administration and the Red Cross, which signifies a pivotal shift from informal, individual acts of kindness to structured, organized support systems. This progression from ad hoc responses to organized assistance illustrates a critical aspect of solidarity: the scaling up from individual to collective action, which is crucial for sustaining support initiatives in urban settings.

The motto "people for people" resonates with the core values of solidarity. The focus is on providing immediate aid and fostering a community-oriented approach to migrant support. This includes pushing for systemic changes that allow for legal and safe pathways to aid, thereby nurturing a more supportive environment for both the volunteers and the migrants. It highlights how solidarity is not merely about collective action but also involves navigating and occasionally confronting the legal and bureaucratic frameworks that govern urban spaces.

In Rijeka, the self-organized efforts of local citizens, who initially rallied around migrants, demonstrated remarkable resilience in the face of financial constraints. As Damir Selimović noted, "...We are self-organized citizens who rallied around these people on the move, and despite the financial challenges, we persisted..." This scenario exemplifies the tenacity of local initiatives, which, while pivotal, require sustainable support to catalyze significant urban transformations. Nina Glick Schiller's theory suggests that such grassroots efforts are essential in illustrating the city's capability to adapt and respond, thereby potentially redefining Rijeka's functional and social roles and its position within global and regional urban hierarchies.

The involvement of institutional actors like the archbishop, who swiftly mobilized resources and fostered collaboration, underscores the crucial role of established institutions in urban scaling. As detailed, "...The only one who helped us was the archbishop, who said that we must help our brother in need... His swift and effective intervention was a beacon of hope..." This intervention facilitated a more structured and effective response, underlining how strategic partnerships can profoundly impact the city's capacity and responsiveness to migrant needs, aligning with views on urban scaling by engaging powerful local actors.

The establishment of infrastructure to support migrants, as described, "...Containers were procured, one for showers, one for clothes and shoes, one for medical supplies, and a large tent where migrants could rest before continuing their journey..." demonstrates Rijeka's adaptation to its role as a transit city. This enhancement of urban infrastructure addresses immediate needs and signifies a crucial adjustment in the city's scale, improving its ability to manage and support migrant flows effectively. Such developments indicate the city's responsiveness to global migration trends, which is essential in understanding urban responsiveness and adaptability in crisis management.

Legal adaptability was also critical as community efforts navigated existing laws to sustain their humanitarian initiatives: "...As for the law, we found a loophole, stating that we were providing purely

humanitarian aid, limited strictly to giving food and water, and medical help that could be bought at a pharmacy..." This maneuvering within legal frameworks showcases the strategic navigation necessary for maintaining essential services. It underscores the importance of legal frameworks in shaping urban responses to migration, which is crucial for understanding urban scaling within Schiller's theoretical perspective.

The broad community engagement that unified diverse groups around a common cause transformed Rijeka's social fabric, "...This transit point in Rijeka brought together people who otherwise never would have worked with the church or even stepped inside one, but a common interest united them..." Such dynamics illustrate the profound social transformation and cultural exchange facilitated by migrant incorporation, resonating with Schiller's insight on the transformative impact of migration on cityscapes, highlighting the potential for cities to redefine their urban identity and scale in response to global migration challenges. "...we even had to turn some people away from food donations for food safety, and that is ultimately the most valuable form of solidarity where people themselves feel the need to help." This instance illustrates the high social cohesion and community mobilization in response to migrant needs in Rijeka. The overwhelming local support, where the supply of donations exceeded capacity, reflects a robust community spirit and engagement. Such active local involvement contributes to urban reconstitution and enhances the city's image as an inclusive and supportive environment for migrants. This can elevate the city's standing in the global hierarchy by demonstrating a proactive and compassionate community response. "...The city of Rijeka paid for utilities since it was a private space— electricity, water, and trash collection." The involvement of municipal resources in supporting the migrant transit point highlights the role of local government in enhancing urban infrastructure to better accommodate migrants. Schiller posits that when cities invest in infrastructure to support vulnerable populations, they actively engage in processes that can potentially rescale their urban environment. This support addresses immediate logistic needs and signals to other global actors and migrants that the city is capable of and committed to providing necessary services, which can attract further migration and international attention. "...the Red Cross donated the tent and was always a backup; the most critical to us was JRS Croatia, which sent a different staff member each week to help us." The collaboration between different organizations, including the Red Cross and JRS Croatia, demonstrates a multi-layered institutional response to migration, which is pivotal for urban scaling per Schiller's framework. This cooperation among NGOs and humanitarian groups enhances the immediate response capabilities and fosters a networked approach to migrant support, enhancing the city's capacity to manage complex social challenges. Such collaborations can help Rijeka scale up its urban responses and position itself as a city capable of practical and coordinated humanitarian efforts.

Chapter 6: DISCUSSION

The comparative analysis of the migration dynamics within Zagreb and Rijeka underlines distinct challenges and strategies rooted in each city's unique role within the migration network. This analysis draws upon the theoretical frameworks of Nina Glick Schiller and Jørgensen & Agustín to understand how urban spaces can function as dynamic arenas for social interaction and transformation in the context of global migration.

Zagreb's proactive engagement with its migrant populations exemplifies how urban environments can evolve into dynamic agents of inclusion and development. The city's initiatives, such as language courses, legal aid, and cultural integration programs, do more than comply with the normative ideals of urban sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality. These measures transform Zagreb into a living example of cities as "scale-makers" within global migration networks. By attracting and retaining a migrant workforce, Zagreb does not just grow; it strategically enhances its socio-economic structure, positioning itself as a central hub in regional and global contexts.

On the other hand, Rijeka's role as a transit city presents a unique set of challenges that extend beyond the limitations of Lee's theories on labour migration. The city's primary focus on immediate humanitarian responses reflects a tactical adaptation to the transient nature of its migrant flows. However, this adaptation also highlights a critical challenge as Rijeka struggles to leverage these transient populations for long-term urban transformation, a key aspect of urban scaling theory. The sporadic nature of migrant interactions in Rijeka limits the city's ability to fully reconstitute itself as Zagreb does, indicating a need for tailored approaches that consider the distinct temporal dynamics of migration each city faces.

Both cities' strategies can be viewed as responses to migration and strategic engagements that reshape their identities and capacities within broader migration networks. This active use of theoretical frameworks provides a more comprehensive understanding of how urban policies and practices can be designed or adapted to better suit the unique contexts of different cities, thereby enhancing their role in global migration narratives.

The inability to fully apply labour migration theories in Rijeka underscores the need for differentiated migration policies. Policies should focus on enhancing the city's capability as a transit hub, improving the efficiency and humanity of short-term support. For Zagreb, where migrants are more likely to settle, policies that support long-term integration, which can be fostered through education, employment opportunities, and social integration programs, are needed. The 'solidarity cities' concept, as discussed by Fischer and Jørgensen, provides a robust theoretical framework for these policy recommendations within the broader European context of managing migration. By recognizing the specific roles cities play within the migration network—whether as points of transit or destination—policies can be better tailored to address the distinct challenges and leverage the unique opportunities presented by each urban context. This approach not only responds to the immediate needs of migrants but also contributes to the long-term resilience and inclusivity of urban communities.

Furthermore, the challenges highlighted in collecting comprehensive data from both cities due to limited engagement with critical institutions and NGOs suggest that future research could benefit from a broader participation base to deepen the understanding of local dynamics. It could further refine the application of Jørgensen & Agustín's and Glick Schiller's theories in different urban contexts.

Implications for Urban Migration Policy

This thesis's findings emphasize the importance of contextualized migration policies. Zagreb's integration efforts could serve as a model for other cities looking to harness migrants' potential to enhance urban scaling and socio-economic development. In contrast, Rijeka's focus on managing transit migration requires robust, flexible support systems that quickly adapt to changing migrant flows and needs.

In both contexts, the theories of Jørgensen & Agustín and Glick Schiller advocate for policies that address economic and logistical concerns and foster environments of inclusion and support. These policies should encourage cities to harness their unique cultural and social resources to improve their global standing and capacity for social inclusion, transforming urban spaces into places of genuine hospitality and active solidarity.

Finally, the comparative analysis of Zagreb and Rijeka has illuminated cities' diverse roles within global migration networks. Each faces unique challenges and opportunities that influence its urban development. At the crossroads of Central and Southeastern Europe, Zagreb is the capital, and its status as an administrative, cultural, and economic hub is drawing many migrants. This influx poses significant integration challenges, particularly in housing and social services and offers the city a potential demographic and economic boost, inspiring us about its growth potential. Conversely, Rijeka's strategic position as a major port on the Adriatic coast establishes it as a critical transit hub within the migration route. This role subjects the city to transient migrant populations, necessitating robust and flexible public services. Rijeka's public services, with their resilience and adaptability, manage the short-term needs of these populations without long-term integration solutions, instilling confidence in us about the city's ability to handle such challenges.

The comparative analysis of these cities has answered the research question by illustrating that local urban contexts significantly influence the strategies employed in managing migration. The effectiveness of these strategies in fostering an inclusive urban environment depends on how well policymakers understand and address each city's specific needs and conditions.

In conclusion, this thesis underscores the importance of tailored urban migration policies that consider each city's unique characteristics.

In conclusion, this thesis has demonstrated how urban contexts like Zagreb and Rijeka are critical in shaping migration policies and practices. Initially set against the backdrop of Europe's complex migration landscape, the study aimed to uncover how cities could transform into sanctuaries of hospitality and solidarity. Through the comparative analysis of Zagreb and Rijeka, we observed distinct approaches to managing migration, influenced by their roles as central administrative hubs and transit cities.

Zagreb's expansive administrative, cultural, and economic capabilities allow it to implement comprehensive integration policies, including language training and employment programs, facilitating long-term migrant settlement and integration. These efforts align with theories that advocate for cities as active players in enhancing urban scale and socio-economic development through migrant integration.

Conversely, Rijeka's geographical and economic positioning as a port city necessitates focusing on immediate humanitarian responses rather than long-term integration, reflecting its strategic but challenging role within the migration network. The city's transient migrant population requires policies prioritizing rapid support and efficient transit processes, emphasizing the need for flexible and responsive urban practices.

This thesis has bridged theoretical perspectives with empirical findings to illustrate that urban migration management requires nuanced understanding and tailored approaches. The interplay between local characteristics and migration dynamics underscores the necessity for policies that are context-specific and adaptable to shifting migrant needs.

By examining the theoretical underpinnings of the urban sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality and applying these concepts to the distinct environments of Zagreb and Rijeka, this study has enriched our understanding of the multifaceted nature of urban migration. It highlights the importance of cities as pivotal factors where migration policies are designed, lived, and experienced, shaping the social, economic, and cultural fabric of urban life.

Also, local integration encompasses several interrelated and distinct dimensions: legal, as the host state gradually grants a broader spectrum of rights to refugees; economic, as refugees progressively rely less on state and humanitarian assistance, gaining greater autonomy and the capacity for self-sustenance, thereby contributing to the economic vitality of the host nation; and social and cultural, as refugees adapt to the new environment through settlement processes facilitated by local communities, which enables them to coexist with the native population and actively contribute to the social life—a scenario of particular interest to countries like Croatia facing acute labour shortages.

Finally, the insights garnered from this analysis serve as a vital resource for policymakers, practitioners, and scholars. They provide a grounded understanding of how urban settings can mobilize their unique resources to foster inclusive communities that accommodate and empower migrant populations. This thesis reaffirms the role of urban centres in the global discourse on migration, advocating for a proactive stance on creating inclusive urban spaces that uphold the values of sanctuary, solidarity, and hospitality.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of this thesis suggest several implications for policy and practice.

The findings underscore the potential benefits of enhanced coordination between national and local migration policies. By aligning these, we can tap into local insights and innovations, informing broader strategic approaches and potentially revolutionizing the efficacy of migration management. Moreover, the active involvement of local communities in migration discussions and decisions is not just beneficial but crucial. Their insights and support can significantly enhance social cohesion and the success of integration initiatives. Furthermore, the potential for economic integration through targeted employment programs is immense. These initiatives cannot only mitigate the risks of relegating migrants to unstable, low-wage jobs but also inspire more sustainable economic contributions from migrant populations.

Recommendations for Future Research

Given the complexity of migration impacts on urban centers, this is where further research could be conducted.

When considering longitudinal impact studies, one should consider that they would provide insights into the long-term effectiveness of integration strategies and their socio-economic outcomes for migrants. Furthermore, comparative urban studies would work, as examining other cities with similar migration challenges could offer comparative insights and best practices, enriching the understanding of different urban responses to migration.

In terms of cultural and social integration, further exploration of the role of cultural programs in migrant integration could elucidate their impact on social cohesion and individual migrant experiences.

Lastly, migrant perspectives should be included in future research to prioritize migrant voices and perspectives to better understand the real-time challenges and needs of the migrant community. This approach could involve participatory research methods where migrants are actively involved in the research design and execution, providing firsthand insights into their experiences and the effectiveness of current integration practices.

Final Thoughts

This thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of how urban areas can navigate migration challenges, turning potential social and economic disruptions into opportunities for growth and development. The proactive measures taken by Zagreb and Rijeka provide valuable lessons for other urban areas grappling with similar issues. By continuing to refine and innovate upon these strategies, cities can not only improve the integration and well-being of migrants but also enhance their own urban resilience and global connectivity.

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